Fellowship

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MAGAZINE OF THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

HE MAN WHO DROPPED THE BOMB ON HIROSHIMA

A. J. Muste — *NOW* IS THE APPOINTED TIME

Frank F. Lee — RACE CONFLICT IN BRITAIN

John R. Yungblut — CIRCLES THAT TAKE IN

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in context

EDITORIAL COMMENTS
ON THE CURRENT SCENE

ETRICK

As this issue of FELLOWSHIP reaches you, small group of FOR members and other acifists will be standing or sitting quietly utside the gates of a forbidding sanctuary death in Maryland called Fort Detrick. me of them will have their heads bowed prayer; some will be handing out leafts; some will be talking to passers-by: all ill be investing their whole personalities a protest against the obscenities being epared by American biologists and emists inside the Detrick laboratories.

It may be that the pacifists will be arsted, for trespass or for disturbing the ace, since the law that protects and sus-ins the production of the tools of murder alert to prosecute people who step on her people's property.

Fort Detrick is a factory. In this land of ivate enterprise, it is a socialist factory, vned and directed by the people—by you d me, and by our neighbors. Since the ajority of our citizens profess allegiance one or another Christian sect, its prinpal owners are Christians. Judging from hat information is available, most of its tive directors are Christian, too. Cerinly most of its top management, who have their offices in Washington, are closely identified with Christian churches.

The work at Fort Detrick is shrouded in secrecy. No details of its products are available to its owners, and anyone who tried to make them available would be liable to prosecution. But of the fundamental nature of its products there need be no doubt. Fort Detrick is busy inventing and preparing the weapons to be used *by Americans* in bacterial and chemical warfare.

Detrick scientists, some of whom presumably took the Hippocratic oath to which all physicians subscribe, spend their days devising ways to spread disease and poison across whole populations. The raw materials of their work are the ordinary germs and viruses against which the race of man has been struggling for centuries; the refined product is a more virulent variety that will not be susceptible to the vaccines and "miracle drugs" that have been produced out of that long struggle.

The germs, the viruses and the poisons will be selective: some will attack man by attacking his food supply, vegetable and animal, while others will attack man directly. Some will be suitable for subduing areas that may shortly be re-occupied; others will leave the infected area unin-

Botulinus Toxin

"Depending on the density of the population, the time of distribution, for instance to catch the crowds of commuters coming into the cities in trains, busses, subways and cars, the amount of toxin released and over what area, the strength of the wind, etc., fatalities might range from a figure that possibly might be as low as 40 percent to a high of nearly 100 percent. Many further casualties would result from panic and the flight of any survivors. . . . If live bacteria or viruses, of artificially enhanced virulence, were to be used instead of a non-self-propagating toxin, infection might spread from the originally implanted foci over a country or a continent."

—Dr. Brock Chisholm, formerly head of World Health Organization in **Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists,** May 1959.

habitable for long periods. None—unless the shroud of secrecy hides it—will select between the guilty and the innocent, between the soldier under arms and the baby in its mother's arms. Except, of course, that disease usually chooses its first victims from among the weak!

This is what Detrick, a socialist enterprise whose principal owners and managers are Christians, is busy producing. If the quality of righteous wrath persisted in the Christian church, or in the Jewish temples or the humanist meeting-rooms, the fences of Detrick would be hidden by the throngs of pilgrims protesting this blasphemous project. As it is, if you read of a handful of pacifists having been arrested at Frederick, Maryland, you will know the nature of their offense.

AND MEANWHILE . . .

A 23-year old Russian fisherman fell into the hold of a Soviet refrigerator ship in the Bering Sea in April, and suffered brain damage that led to partial paralysis. Word of his plight went to the Soviet Embassy in Washington, from there to the State Department, which relayed it to the Treasury, which sent it to the Coast Guard, which sent a cutter through dangerously high seas to the Soviet ship. The seaman was removed and taken to the Aleutians, where an amphibious plane took over for the 650-mile flight to an Air Force base at Anchorage, where Air Force surgeons took over. At last reports, Evgenii Ivanovich Gneushev was recovering.

TALLAHASSEE

A number of Negro leaders reportedly have told the press of their "disappointment" that the all-white jury in the Tallahassee, Florida, rape case, while finding the four white defendants guilty, recommend mercy. The recommendation means that the men will not be put to death in the electric chair, though it leaves open the possibility of life sentences in prison.

The "disappointment," which probably understates the bitterness in parts of the Negro community, grows out of the fact that no white man has ever been executed in Florida for the rape of a Negro woman. Negroes who have been convicted of raping a white woman, of course, commonly

Detrick at Work

"An epidemic is a very complex phenomenon which usually spreads quite slowly, gives a population time to marshal its defenses. . . . By contrast, biological warfare would strike an entire population **at the same time** and those infected would get sick at the same time—including doctors, nurses, transportation workers, and so on."

—Gen J. H. Rothschild, former Commanding General, Chemical Corps Research and Development, in **Harper's,** June 1959.

"Most of the chemicals developed for use in war today give no warning of their presence by unpleasant physiological effects which would signal the enemy to take defensive measures. And in general they enter not only through the lungs but also through the skin, forcing the enemy to protect his entire body as well as his face."

—ibid.

"The nerve gases attack the body by destroying the normal relationship between the nerve ends and the muscles they control. . . . If proper quantities are used, and even small quantities, [they] produce death in from 5 to 15 minutes."

—Major Gen. William M. Creasy, Chief Chemcial Officer of the Army, Before Senate Armed Services Committee, Spring 1958.

"Q. Are there any BW agents for use against humans or animals for which there is not a counter-measure or an inoculant?

"A. Yes, sir. We do know that in the case of any kind of vaccine, you can override it with massive doses, and the doses we use are massive doses." —ibid.

"The user can foretell the results of his attack, since he can use agents which merely debilitate—such as rabbit fever or undulant fever—or cause death through such diseases as plague, typhus, cholera or smallpox. And he knows that his attack will not destroy the buildings and machines that may be so important in his postwar economic planning." —ibid.

ave gone to the electric chair. For many Negroes, and for many white sympathizers, he test of equal justice in Florida hung on whether the four perpetrators of this brutal ttack also were put to death.

The reaction is understandable and human, but it is also sterile and self-defeating. t is not only that capital punishment is oth evil and ineffective. It is not that even any who defend the use of capital punishment for murder deplore its application o non-capital crimes. It is sterile and self-efeating because it accepts for its own the asic proposition of the most rabid racists: hat a man's fate should be determined by he color of his skin. Those who were disappointed" by the verdict were disappointed not because the state would not ill four convicted rapists, but because it ould not kill four convicted *white* rapists. t is racism turned in upon itself: it confirms the argument that justice should consider race and color.

Unfairly, we have come to expect more han this from the Negro leadership in merica. For those who have been deeply roubled by the unimaginative, uncreative, onditioned response that predominates mong whites who are confronted with iolence or hatred, the tremendous moral xample of such things as Montgomery ave been a breath of hope. The almost otal absence of violence on the part of Negroes in the South during the tension f the past few years, and the repeated emonstrations of an ability to understand nd forgive even their bitterest enemies, ave touched the consciences of millions ho would otherwise have been unreached.

Justice is not vengeance. Justice, if it is o be meaningful, grows out of love. Love, hich means understanding and compason and the ability to forgive, does not inimize the evil and brutality of the atack on the Tallahassee girl, but neither oes it see the four attackers as a blurred nd impersonal symbol of white supremacy. sees the four quaking defendants as they re, youths who have their own unarticuted indictment of the society in which ey grew up embittered, hostile, antiocial. In the lack of reverence they exibited for the personality of their victim, ve sees the same lack in the respectable ommunity around them, including the churches dedicated to the concept that all men are extensions of God.

The legal manifestations of prejudice may be dealt with, imperfectly, by the operations of law, but prejudice itself yields only when the prejudiced person is able to separate the individual from the group and to see him clearly as a person, with compassion and understanding and love. We whites will acquire that ability most quickly as we are able to count on our Negro brothers to continue to show their own magnificent ability to see us as persons rather than stereotypes, to understand our petty prejudices and forgive our fearful sins against them.

SUBVERSION

It was to be expected that the Supreme Court would have lapses from the level of strength it has demonstrated the past few years on matters of importance to civil liberties and civil rights. A couple of such lapses occurred in June, when the Court decided, by identical 5-4 votes, against two men who had challenged the right of state and Congressional authorities to demand information regarding personal associations and beliefs. In one case, the Court affirmed the contempt conviction of Dr. Willard Uphaus for refusing to turn over to the Attorney General of New Hampshire lists of guests and other information concerning the World Fellowship Center located in that state. The other was the affirmation of the contempt conviction of college instructor Lloyd Barenblatt for refusing to answer questions concerning earlier personal associations with alleged Communist-dominated groups.

The World Fellowship Center describes itself as pacifist though many members of the FOR would not agree with some aspects of its programs. Both before, and during his tenure, FOR staff members have declined to speak at the Center because they have felt that the clarity of its pacifism was clouded by its support of meetings and movements of ambiguous loyalties. Of Lloyd Barenblatt we know nothing beyond what has been in the papers. Nevertheless, we believe that both these decisions were wrong decisions, and a very serious blow to the concept of the individual's right to freedom of opinion and speech. Why this is so was summed up

in the very eloquent dissent written by Justice Hugo L. Black in the Barenblatt case, in which he was joined by Chief Justice Warren and Justice Douglas. We quote in part:

> "It is . . . the right to err politically which keeps us strong as a nation. For no number of laws against communism can have as much effect as the personal conviction which comes from having heard its arguments and rejected them, or from having once accepted its tenets and later recognized their worthlessness. Instead, the obloquy which results from investigations such as this not only stifles 'mistakes' but prevents all but the most courageous from hazarding any views which might at some later time become disfavored. . . .
>
> "The fact is that once we allow any group which has some political aims or ideas to be driven from the ballot and from the battle for men's minds because some of its members are bad and some of its tenets illegal no group is safe. . . .
>
> "Ultimately all the questions in this case boil down to one—whether we as a people will try fearfully and futilely to preserve democracy by adopting totalitarian methods, or whether in accordance with our traditions and our Constitution we will have the confidence and courage to be free."

SUCCESS STORY

One fellow who doesn't have to worry about his past association is Dr. Wernher von Braun, the rocket expert and space scientist who has been the key figure in this country's missile development. Dr. von Braun's career was launched under what most people would have called inauspicious circumstances. He was the genius who armed Adolf Hitler with the V-1 and V-2 rockets with which the Nazis came uncomfortably close to winning World War II. His name, then, was anathema.

After the war, however, Dr. von Braun accepted the most urgent invitation the American military could devise and brought his great talent to this country. So successful has he been that on January 16 he was given the President's Award for Distinguished Federal Service, with the observation by President Eisenhower that his record "stands as a lasting monument to the ingenuity and ability of Federal employees."

Even that left one still loftier niche to be reached, however, and Dr. von Braun has now reached it. On May 27 the rocket scientist was awarded the Americanism Medal of the New Jersey chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution fo his "spiritual contribution to the world through lending his "knowledge to preserv Western civilization."

How much higher can a man go?

CONTRIBUTORS IN THIS ISSUE

A. J. Muste, FOR Secretary Emeritus, is currently serving as one of the coordinators of Omaha Action: Nonviolence Against Nuclear Missile Policy, a direct action project being conducted at the nerve center of the United States Air Force's ICBM system. His article in this issue is an elaboration of a speech he delivered at the recent conference of the Church Peace Mission at Evanston, Ill.

Frank F. Lee is an assistant professor of sociology at the University of California. He was in Engand on a half-year sabbatical studying the West Indians at the time of last year's race riots there, and observed the events at first hand.

Curtiss Moody, former FOR Youth Secretary, was recently ordained as a minister in the Disciples of Christ. Since early last year he has counseled with Major Eatherly in an effort to heal the latter's guilt.

Alfred Hassler, who co-authored the Eatherley story from Curtiss Moody's report, is in Europe where he will attend the conference of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation as one of the U.S. delegates.

John R. Yungblut is rector of St. John's Parish, Waterbury, Conn., and chairman of the Episcopal Pacifist Fellowship. "Circles That Take In" is the third in a series of meditations that have appeared in recent issues. Others are scheduled for the future.

Among our book reviewers this month are **John McGrath,** an associate editor of *The Progressive,* and **Lowell Brestell Hazzard,** professor of Old Testament at Wesley Theological Seminary, Washington, D. C.

NOW is the Appointed Time

BY A. J. MUSTE

FEW YEARS AGO, the World Council of Churches set up a Study Com-ion of eminent Christian theologians scientists to deal with the subject, ristians and the Prevention of War in uclear Age." In August 1958 the Com-ion placed before a meeting of the tral Committee of the World Council t is now known as a *"Provisional* Study ument" to underscore the point that ny rate at this stage its pronounce-ts in no sense constitute World Council cy.

he crucial passage in the Provisional ly Document, subscribed to by all teen members, only two of whom— R members Douglas Steere of the U. S. Prof. Hannes de Graaf of Holland— pacifists, declares that "Christians must r consent" to the all-out use of nuclear pons in war. "Every element of Chris- faith, hope and ethics involved in the istian affirmation," the Commission inues, "stands in opposition to this are. Although there are differences of ion on many points, we are agreed on point. This is that the all-out use of e weapons should never be resorted to. eover, that Christians oppose all ies which give evidence of leading to ut war. Finally, *if all-out war should r, Christians should urge a cease fire, cessary on the enemy's terms, and re- to nonviolent resistance,"* (Italics e.)

Space does not permit us to dwell on the reasons that have carried a considerable number of nonpacifist Christians to this conclusion, which obviously has revolutionary implications if it is more than a paper declaration. We shall confine ourselves in this article to dealing with the dilemma in which those Christians now find themselves who have been driven to this conclusion—that the all-out *use* of nuclear weapons must be unequivocally renounced—but who cannot bring themselves to draw the further conclusion that such weapons must be scrapped now, because they still cling to the belief that the *possession* of an atomic arsenal has *deterrent* value. Having the weapons which we must under no circumstances use, seems to them the one basis for hope that the enemy will be deterred and we shall not have to use them!

Perhaps we cannot absolutely rule out the possibility that the revolution in military technology will make its impact on strategists on both sides and that somehow all the obstacles of inertia, of encrusted thought patterns, of vested interest, of hysteria will overcome, and thus an agreement reached that total war must be ruled out and the vast accumulations of weapons capable of wiping out the race must be destroyed. The weapons revolution is the one political factor in the situation which holds out a slender hope that what has never previously been achieved may

now happen, *i. e.,* power rivalry and an intense arms race ending in *peace.*

But it is sheer madness to think that this could come to pass by an automatic process that will work itself out while human beings stand by and watch, or indeed while they keep on pursuing the power struggle, developing more fantastic armaments, moving ever closer to the precipice—to be snatched to safety at the last moment in a cosmic melodrama.

A Note About Deterrence

Unless there is an intervention of human decision and action, introducing a new and creative factor into the situation, the process to which we have just alluded can only end in total war and total catastrophe. For the weapons and the weapons-rivalry which, looked at from one side, may temporarily act as deterrents, as a matter of fact also create alarm, engender suspicion and fear, maintain constant tension which repeatedly breaks out into hysteria.

If in fact the so-called nuclear stalemate spelled security, we should somehow feel secure, relax and take a deep breath. The pervading sense of insecurity daily gives the lie to the philosophy of deterrence. Neither of the super-powers is indeed seeking to achieve an actual "*balance* of terror." The aim of each is to upset the balance in its own favor and thus to secure unquestioned preponderance. We are daily beset, therefore, by the danger that whether by muddle or miscalculation in a State Department or foreign office, by the breaking of a bomber pilot's mind under tension, by failure in a super-calculating machine, as Prof. Pickering points out, or by a deliberate decision to launch a "pre-emptive attack" to avoid being wiped out in a surprise move by the enemy, the war that must under no circumstances be permitted to occur will engulf us.

For these and many other reasons that might be given, confidence in deterrence is weakening among nonpacifist Christian thinkers as well as in other circles. A well-known American theologian recently wrote, in commenting on a paper advocating that the United States make a unilateral move to get rid of its nuclear armament: "For the first time I agree with you that, if the U. S. A. did take the initiative along your lines, this would probabl a better policy in terms of prudenc well as in terms of moral sensitivity."

Even those who still have some fidence in deterrence admit that it well fail. The majority members of World Council's Study Commission cordingly declare that "to rely merel the mutually deterrent effect which possession of these weapons exercise utterly irresponsible. "From an et viewpoint, the mere reliance upon deterrence simply evades the is namely, what to do if deterrence fails

Not prepared to rule out weapon mass extermination now nor firmly to out limited war, which admittedly m develop into all-out war, these nonpac embark on a tortured ride on the h of a wild bull whose name is Dilemm

To Have But Not Use

They propose as a first requiremen *discipline which is capable of posse nuclear weapons and the means of delivery, but of never using them in a warfare."* (Italics in the Report). further define this discipline as one will enable government and people stop, even if necessary on the ene terms, rather than embark on all-out

The nonpacifist members of the S Commission immediately indicate a ness of the practical dilemma confro them by stipulating that "it is not n sary for a nation, or a group of nat to announce in advance the precise at which they will stop. This might t a hard-pressed enemy to test that po In other words, if an adversary *k* beyond reasonable doubt, that a natio a fixed policy not to use weapons of extermination in any circumstances, this would clearly be all-out war, nothing is left of the deterrent effe these weapons. That effect depends o possibility that they *might* be used. I *really* settled policy not to use them, are immobilized; they can be writte It is clear, parenthetically, that if th tire body of Christians, rather tha nation as a whole, or even a sizable ber of Christian leaders and members unequivocally committed against th of extermination weapons, the

nt be similar. A nation so divided ld be considerably weakened in the tary-power sense and the deterrent ef- of its atomic arsenal reduced.

ecause this is so, the temptation not to pecific about the precise point of re- ciation and "surrender" is overwhelm- And then people are impaled on the n of the dilemma. Why should the ad- ary take seriously so vague a proposal? e not bound to regard this as a trick ull him into a false sense of security as a typical pious evasion which Com- nists expect of Christians? Will he not feel bound to probe and test the point hich we shall call for a cease-fire on his is?

o put the question from another angle, orge F. Kennan, characteristically ving passage in *sia, the Atom and West,* suggested rather than sacri- in nuclear war or preparation "all values for which ight be worth e to live at all," should divest our- es of nuclear arms, ting, among other gs, in "that mea- of common sense humanity which even our enemies pos- " Obviously, if there is no such factor he situation, if our "enemies" are mad depraved demons, there is no hope way in any customary meaning of oe." But if such a factor exists, there urely much more chance that an ap- to it would meet a response if the ted States now took a unilateral risk peace, than if we waited until the il moment when in effect World War had begun. For such a war, once be- will run its predestined catastrophic se unless some unprecedented act of n in God, and in "that of God" in our is then performed by us. By our nter-arming and by the suspicion, dis- t and lack of faith in spiritual forces ch this counter-arming betrays, we goad her people into counter-counter-arm- into deepened suspicion and more confirmed cynicism about any but material forces. Do we not thus render them increasingly incapable of responding to a moral initiative? Or do we ask of them, now or in that more desperate future, a miracle of conversion to sanity and faith in God, of which we are incapable or which, perhaps, we wickedly and blasphemously refuse to undertake ourselves? As for renewing among "the godless" and the materialists some faith in the Christian Church and its Gospel, the chance to do that is not going to be increased by postponement, least of all postponement to that final awful moment when there is no choice left anyway save extinction or surrender.

Let us turn to another phase of the practical dilemma in which nonpacifists who cling to deterrence are trapped. We have considered the effect on the "enemy" nation of the policy of having but not using nuclear weapons and of postponing until a final crisis the fixing of the point at which their use becomes "all-out" and hence forbidden to us. But what about the *psychological* aspect of this approach, so far as the "Christian" nation is concerned? The Provisional Study Document says on this point: "It is fully recognized that this is a difficult course of action. When a nation is geared to war, it is psychologically difficult in the extreme for it to achieve a voluntary right about-face. And if that nation has had a bomb or two dropped on it, the difficulty is multiplied so long as it has an ounce of energy left. Only through thorough training in advance..."!

How does one discipline a nation, its Christian people, its youth, to be prepared *at an undefined point* to perform the stupendous act of stopping short rather than taking another step in the midst of a raging war and unleashing the weapons of massive retaliation, which are ready to hand and *on which, up to that point, reliance has been placed to deter, precisely*

because they were capable of visiting massive retaliation on the enemy people?

How can we reasonably expect that in such an atmosphere it will at last be crystal-clear that the line has been reached which must not be overstepped? For four decades, the question of *where* and *when* to draw the line has been discussed by Christians. Again and again the line has been pushed farther and farther back. We repent of the atrocities committed in the last war and then contemplate the possibility of more outrageous ones in the next. Christian thinking has become confused and effective action against the increasing barbarism of war has thus been repeatedly frustrated. As recently as forty years ago, *any* bombing of civilian population was "absolutely forbidden" to Christians.

Who is to decide at that moment, in the midst of war when it is possible to retaliate, that this would be sin? *Who* is to forbid it? What President? What general among those who are waging such a war? What reason is there to suppose that the decision to surrender in those circumstances would be felt by the people to be an act of political good sense and moral dignity and not as a case of "chickening out"? Moreover, looking to the enemy again, what are the chances that, in a rapidly moving and tense situation, there would be time to inform him? And if there were, what reason is there to suppose that he would regard it as anything but a ruse?

If we assume that we are thinking specifically of Christians who have assumed that the arms race must go on because we must have "positions of strength" from which to negotiate, but who at the ultimate moment counsel that the weapons on which the nation has relied must be scrapped after all, they can surely not believe that a protest at that point can have any effect on government policies or avert the catastrophe that has been hanging over mankind.

Considered from the practical point of view, then, there seems to be but one conclusion: either Christian leaders are merely saying some words when they declare that we may never make all-out use of nuclear weapons, but that we must nevertheless retain them for reasons of deterrence, concealing from potential enemies the point at which we shall renounce use. In event nothing has changed. Or else t really mean that national policy must based on the unequivocal rejection of clear retaliation. Any *serious* and *tinuous* training in a discipline never *use* nuclear weapons would obviously equivalent to giving up their deterr role. In this case, *action*—not mer *theoretical* "discipline"—to implem that decision must begin at once. T means both divesting ourselves of weapons of mass extermination, if n be unilaterally, and beginning to put ternatives to work, such as a more creat foreign policy and training in nonviol resistance.

The Moral Dilemma

It remains to deal with much the n serious dilemma confronting such Ch tians as the majority members of the Wo Council's Study Commission. This is ethical dilemma, the profound probl which they face as Christians, rather th citizens, and which the church faces Church of Christ, not as one historical in tution among many.

We may begin this discussion w another reference to the passage by Geo Kennan from which we have alre quoted. Pointing to the erosion of values which will come about "if we sign ourselves entirely to the nega dynamics of the weapons race, as m would have us do," he declares that if were the best the future held for us would be tempted to join those who "let us divest ourselves of this weapon together, let us stake our safety on G good grace and our own good conscien and on that measure of common sense humanity which even our adversa possess; but then let us at least walk men, with our heads up, so long as we permitted to walk at all."

Ultimately, that is to say, we *shall* Christians have to "stake our safety God's grace and our own good conscienc Our ethic is finally one of *obedience* not of prudential *calculation*. Our trus not in horses and chariots, least of al our H-bombs, but in "the Everlasting G the Lord, who fainteth not, neithe weary" even in the day when "the yo

t and are weary and the young men
rly fail." Ultimately our peace is in
dience to His will, "simply to stop" (a
ase used in the Provisional Study
ument) doing what the Gospel forbids,
tart doing what it enjoins.
ut if there is one thing that is explicit
he Scriptures, it is that the call to trust
he Lord is never to trust in Him tomor-
or next year, but *now*. Today is the
pted time for repentance and those
say they will repent tomorrow, if and
n things get worse, are both foolish
blasphemous. What some Christian
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's grace." This
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e to suggesting that
the absence of
faith on our part,
l will someday
k magic for us in
onse to despair,
h is the denial of faith.

comment is in order here on the posi-
in which some Christian spokesmen
m we commonly speak of as "neo-
odox" or "Niebuhrian" now find
nselves. We have alluded to a promi-
American theologian who now agrees
a unilateral initiative by the United
s of America to get rid of nuclear
ons would be a better policy *in terms*
rudence as well as in terms of ethical
itivity. For those who accept this pro-
tion, a distinction that has often been
e is now wiped out in relation to nu-
war. This is the distinction, as made
he report of the Dun Commission of
National Council of Churches, between
fists, who most nearly conform to the
bel ethic, and nonpacifiifist Christians
feel they must be "politically re-
sible" even if this involves serious
compromise. There is now no conflict between ethical sensitivity or Gospel obedience, on the one hand, and prudence on the other.

If, however, as is the case with the theologian whom I am quoting, these nonpacifists still hold that, for the time being, we must have nuclear arms so that we may "negotiate from strength," and so on, this leads to a curiously paradoxical development. Taking a stand against the use of nuclear weapons is put off until in the midst of a war already in process, or on the very verge of exploding, the weapons are about to be unleashed. But a protest made at that stage, for reasons already stated, cannot be expected to influence policy. It will be simply *an act of witness, having no immediate political relevance.* Those who undertake it will at that point be "vocational pacifists." There is a case to be made, as leading nonpacifists have generally agreed, for a consistent vocational pacifism, but it is a curious position for these nonpacifists to get into. They have continuously contended that ordinary Christians must accept "political responsibility" and hence cannot be pacifists. Are they now contending that in the ultimate extremity the *politically responsible* position will be *surrender* rathe rthan massive retaliation? In fact, however, taking the stand at that late date is bound to be politically irrelevant. Either these theologians should take the stand that prudence dictates unilateral action now, when it would have a much better chance of affecting events and thus be "politically relevant," or they should opt for "vocational pacifism" *now,* on the ground that the Christian is always—and not merely in some ultimate historical disaster—first of all required to obey the commandment of love and not to strive for immediate political relevance on the world's terms.

It seems impossible, then, to avoid the conclusion reached by a minority of four

on the World Councils' Study Commission (the two known pacifists having been joined at this point by two others) that consistency requires the renunciation of the H-bomb and all other such weapons now, "while the decision is still open to us in time of peace." The H-bomb is "the limiting case and at this point we must say No."

The stockpiling and testing of these nuclear weapons are themselves evil, quite apart from the question of their eventual use in all-out war. *Threatening* to use such weapons if we mean in some circumstances to use them, is blackmail in the form of preparation to commit an obscene atrocity. If, on the other hand, we really mean never to use them, then keeping up the *threat* is deceitful. It contributes to confusion and distrust in a tense and troubled world. It gives the Communists another reason for denouncing us as hypocritical or effete.

From the ethical point of view and in particular in the light of the Gospel ethic, stockpiling H-bombs is an expression of faith in evil weapons, of lack of trust in God and in the armor of God which Christians are enjoined to put on. As the distinguished English Roman Catholic essayist, E. I. Watkin, points out in a very important recent publication, *Morals and Missiles: Catholic Essays on the Problem of War Today*, it cannot "be morally right to threaten immoral conduct." The notion that a bluff of nuclear warfare is "moral provided it is no more than bluff" will not stand up either on practical or on moral grounds. This would be true even if deterrence held out more practical promise than it does. Nor may we forget that, by fallout and in other ways, the preparation itself for nuclear war threatens the lives of babes and adults in *other* countries than those of the "nuclear club" members and causes the "irreversible genetic distortion" of children of future generations in other than the nuclear-armed countries. This is an outrage unprecedented in history, and it has been left to two "Christian" and one Communist nation to perpetrate it in the twentieth century.

Will it Work?

If we take the stand that Christians and the churches should clearly withdraw from any support of or voluntary participa in nuclear war and preparation there and that they should counsel the natio take unilateral action, if necessary, to draw from the nuclear arms race, we bound to be asked certain questions w there is no space to deal with in article. One of them is whether such initiative, coupled with a more crea and truly democratic domestic for policy, might actually prevent the outbr of another World War and overcome C munism, or its evil aspects. The West not been conspicuously effective in att ing this objective with its policies of " tainment," deterrence, and almost exclu dependence on military instrumentali In other words, will our proposal "wo I believe that a strong case for an affi tive reply can be made. Here it must su however, to point out that Christians think otherwise cannot thereby justify tinued involvement in nuclear war paration. For involvement in the diabo of mass extermination cannot be justi on the ground that if we refuse to con such an atrocity we are not provide advance with an alternative guarantee be successful in the immediate situat

The Christian leaders to whom we been principally addressing ourselves this article start from the thesis that comes to the awful choice between all use of nuclear weapons in war or surre in the military sense they have, at lea Christians, no choice but to advocate latter. At that point, they recognize, must simply live in obedience and f and the question whether this w "work" becomes secondary or even p less. It can hardly be argued that it is g to be easier then than now to devis alternative that might "work."

The position which we are here st recently received powerful support George F. Kennan in an article ent "Foreign Policy and Christian Conscie in the *Atlantic Monthly*, May 1959. article is based on an address by Kenn the students of Princeton Theolo Seminary, one of a series set up by P dent John A. Mackay. In the boo which we have already referred, first lished in 1957, Kennan was still saying *if* certain conditions obtained, he w

mpted to join those who say: "let us
t ourselves of this weapon altogether;
is stake our safety on God's grace,"
so on. In his *Atlantic Monthly* article,
ian states unequivocally that the
bing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and
the area bombing in World War II,
"farther than anything the Christian
can accept." As an American and as a
stian he regrets that these things were
. "I think it should be our aim," he
"to do nothing of the sort in any
e military encounter."
suggests that "if we must defend our
es [we do it] as well as we can in the
t sense," but we must not have any
in making "millions of women, chil-
and non-combatants hostages for the
vior of their own governments." Then
omes to the crucial question as to
her this would "work" and replies:

will be said to me: This means defeat.
this I can only reply: I am skeptical
the meaning of 'victory' and 'defeat'
their relation to modern war between
at countries. *To my mind the defeat is
itself. In any case it seems to me that
re are times when we have no choice but
follow the dictates of our conscience, to
w ourselves on God's mercy. and not to
too many questions.*" (Italics mine. AJM)

Nonviolence

e Provisional Study Document, it
be recalled, stated that, along with "a
fire, if necessary on the enemy's
s," Christians should in the ultimate
counsel "resort to nonviolent resist-
". The Study Commission pointed out
it had had no time to deal with this
e. It is earnestly to be hoped that the
d Council of Churches will instruct
enable the Commission to proceed
that study. In view of the impasse to
n violence and war have led, and the
sant condemnation of violence and
r as a part of Communist philosophy,
nstonishing, and even scandalous, that
er secular nor religious authorities and
nts in the West have paid any serious
tion to the alternative of nonviolence.
the more scandalous in the case of
tians who, however they may differ
the relation of *agape*, Gospel love,
olitical life, cannot but agree that in
sense "the secret of the power of non-violence was revealed in the death of Christ."*

Many people have the idea that "surrender" in the military sense can only come from cowardice and that it represents complete outward and inward submission to a conqueror. There have been many instances in the past where this has simply not been true, even where people had no idea of nonviolence as we know it today. Among Protestants and especially among Roman Catholics, there is a widespread notion that any resistance to preparation and use of nuclear weapons means in effect to expose Christianity and the Christian Church to extinction by Communism. Pacifist and even more moderate peace programs have a very difficult time of it in Roman Catholic circles in this country because of this belief. I am, therefore, grateful to be able to quote here again the Roman Catholic writer, E. I. Watkin, in *Morals and Missiles*. He recalls the well-known fact that it has not been possible to abolish religion in the sense of church life in Russia, and he also quotes Roman Catholic sources in support of a development which some of our European FOR leaders who have been in Russia have also reported, *viz.*, that a good many Communist youths even are eager to discuss profound religious questions. Watkin concludes:

> "God evidently is acting in Russia in his own spiritual way. Why must we intervene with the weapons of Satan or the threat of their use? Why should Marxist Communism be more successful in countries where there is a tradition of political freedom, such as has never existed in Russia, and where all forms of religious faith and unfaith have long enjoyed the peaceful coexistence of a mutual tolerance?"

Finally, a word needs to be said about obstacles that keep certain Christian spokesmen, who privately accept the views we have set forth or a close approximation of them, from publicly advocating and working for them. The American theologian previously referred to, who has come

* From an essay by a leading Roman Catholic theologian, Dom Bede Griffiths, O.S.B., in *Morals and Missiles* (London: James Clarke & Co., Ltd. 1959). Reference should also be made to a far too long neglected discussion of the relation of Gandhian nonviolence to Christian thought and action by Jacques Maritain in his essay, Purification of Means," in *Freedom in the Modern World* (New York: Scribners 1936).

to the point of agreeing that prudence as well as moral sensitiveness counsel unilateral renunciation of nuclear weapons by the United States, confesses himself "still hung up by the realization that the U.S.A. will not do this." He furthermore believes that "without a spiritual revolution which I do not foresee," our hope is in negotiations which "will have to be from strength."

The Duty of Christian Teachers

It may well be, of course, that the United States will not take the path which prudence, its true self-interest and loyalty to its own moral professions dictate. But when did it become permissible for leaders of public opinion—and especially Christian teachers—to say one thing privately and another publicly, to refrain from telling the truth as they see it, because it is not what the people want to hear or do? To what pass have we come when the physician determines his diagnosis and prescription by what the patient is willing to hear? There cannot be *conclusive* evidence whether the American people would accept an imaginative, courageous, revolutionary foreign policy, if the very leaders who have come to believe in such a course do not give the people a fair chance to consider it.

And as for not foreseeing the "spiritual revolution" which is surely needed if mankind is to be delivered from a nuclear catastrophe, surely this is not the way for a leader of the church to approach the matter. Such a one cannot believe that God does not want to pour out the Spirit upon us so that we may be saved. What is the church here for except, in faith, to pray and work for spiritual revival? If the church is today inadequate to its task, what other duty have its teachers and prophets than to pray and work for the renewal of church itself? And, of course, there wil no spiritual revolution if we have to some guarantee of "success" in davan if we have to be able to "foresee" th is a practicable propostion. It is the of Christian life and responsibility tha walk by faith and not by sight. When this law abrogated?

But at this point, pacifists can only their own heads in abject humility. indeed are we that we should call u *others* to undergo a spiritual rebirth to do their part in the spiritual revolu of our age?

Yet if we had but a little faith, m tains could be moved. And "if Fait able to move mountains, is it powerle shift the mighty from their seats? If C tians who live by Faith in their pri lives, lay aside their Faith when they proach the things of political and s life, they must be content to be t like slaves in the wake of history."

We end, therefore, with the que with which we began. We are told b Study Commission of the World Cou of Churches and by many other lea both Christian and secular, that ultim we cannot commit the atrocity of extermination, in retaliation or in de of the national existence. Military render will be preferrable. But if event we must abandon faith in nuclear wea and "put our trust in God's grace, our good consciences and in the measu reason and humanity which even enemies"—our fellow-sinners—possess, in nonviolent resistance, then in name why not now? Why not far b now without further delay? What ar —any of us—waiting for?

The Destiny of Man in the Atomic Era

"There is something more terrible than the disintegration of the atom: that is t disintegration of consciences. The Atomic Era, the era of absolute physical forc urgently demands, as a counterpart, conscientious positions that are pure, irreducib and absolute themselves. Whatever happens, this will be our only means of ove coming folly and despair. Whatever happens (let it be invasion or any horror), tho who preserve intact in the depth of their soul faith in the sacred principles of life w be the strongest. . . . The world, if it continues to exist, will be rebuilt according their credo. Once again we shall see the triumph of Athens and Jerusalem, the triumph of the spirit overcoming the Empire, the triumph of life over brute force and death

—Ignazio Silo

RACE CONFLICT IN BRITAIN

BY FRANK F. LEE

DURING LATE AUGUST and September of 1958 a series of violent race riots wept parts of two of Britain's most im-ortant cities, Nottingham (of Robin Hood me) and London's Notting Hill section. leavy police reserves had to be called out nd even then the authorities were only artially successful in getting the situation nder full control. This was not accom-lished completely until Mr. Justice Sal-on sentenced nine young Englishmen ho had participated in the riots to four ears in prison.

Although this was not the first time such vents had occurred in Britain, they came s a shock to a nation which has long rided itself on tolerance and lack of racial rejudice. How and why did these riots ccur? They are due to a variety of causes, ut before they can be discussed it is im-ortant to sketch briefly the background nd history of Britain's race relations.

Britain's first contact with colored eoples came in the 16th century. It radually increased in scope as she entered ore and more into the slave trade until, the 18th century when she dominated , she was the greatest slave-trading nation all time. Not many of the slaves with hich Britain dealt found their way to ritain, but by 1772, when Lord Mans-field outlawed slavery on British soil in the famous Somerset case, there were between 15,000 and 20,000 of them. Between that time and the beginning of the 20th century, most Negroes either left Britain or were absorbed into the rest of the population. Of the few remaining identifiable Negroes, the majority settled in London. There they got on rather well with the rest of the population until late in the 19th century, when race relations deteriorated. This may, in some respects, have been due to the influx of immigrants from Europe, many of whom were Central European Jews, against whom there also was considerable hostility by their London neighbors.

The first real influx of colored people into Britain, and the beginning of her race problems, came with World War I. At that time large numbers of Negro men were welcomed into the British merchant marine due to the wartime shortage of labor. These men settled principally in port cities like Liverpool, Cardiff and London. With the end of the war and the consequent reduction in the merchant navy and employment opportunities, hostility toward colored people in these localities sharply increased. There was a series of race riots by white seamen against

colored seamen in Liverpool and Cardiff on a serious scale, and in such cities as London, Newcastle and Glasgow on a minor scale. Most of these took place during 1919.

The rest of the period between the wars was not an easy one for the less than 10,000 Negroes in Britain. There was heavy unemployment. For example, in 1932 in Liverpool it rose to over 50 percent of the colored working force, and in 1938 to 75 percent of the males in colored families. There were also repeated demands from certain groups that all colored people be repatriated, and some did actually return home. However, no official action was taken to this end, and in fact small numbers of students and entertainers increasingly came to boost slightly the colored population.

With the coming of World War II, the situation changed radically. Jobs became available for Negroes in both the merchant marine and industry. There was even a small planned migration of skilled West Indian workers in addition to the large contingent from the area that served in the Royal Air Force. At the war's end, many of the West Indians who had been in the RAF settled down in Britain. About two-thirds of them married English girls.

The actual beginning of West Indian immigration into Britain occurred in 1948, and has continued at an ever-increasing rate almost until the present. By 1951 there were 15,000 West Indians living in Britain. During 1954 about 10,000 a year were entering, and there was a total colored population of between 80,000 and 100,000. Of these about half were West Indians and one-eighth native-born Negroes. Since then the number of West Indians who have entered yearly (and they make up most of the immigrants) rose constantly to a peak year of 1956 when 26,000 entered. This has since fallen off considerably. Today there are around 200,000 Negroes in Britain, of whom at least half are West Indians.

The Gentle People of Prejudice

With this brief history of Britain's race relations, let us now see what the causes are for the riots in Nottingham and Notting Hill. As has been brought out earlier, riots occurred following the First World War; there were also serious racial disturbances in the recent past, as in Liverpool in 1948. So the fact of these new ones should not have been particularly unexpected. Furthermore, it is already possible to see some of the reasons for this violence.

The most important fact is that Britain, like the United States, is a color-prejudiced country. Prejudice is basically approved and a part of the social fabric. Many upper- and middle-class people object strongly to such happenings as these riots but they are prejudiced themselves against other groups such as the Jews, the Negroes and recent European immigrants. Many are the disparaging stories they tell, stories almost always derogatory of another group: stories which emphasize the dirty or crooked Jew, the comical or stupid Negro. These people are what H. A. Overstreet referred to several years ago in the *Saturday Review of Literature* as "The Gentle People of Prejudice." By their so-called polite stories at the expense of other groups, they encourage others of less restrained nature to more violent action.

Traditional Class Bias

Secondly, we must recognize that in Britain, as in the United States again, this hostile attitude toward other groups is partially a result of the class system of the society. As long as distinctions between people are stressed in terms unrelated to their achievements and especially to their potentialities, we can expect antagonism toward other groups to exist. And the more distinctive and identifiable these groups are, the greater is this hostility and the channeling of it onto a specific group. Thus, the British have resented and discriminated against the Irish in recent times, just as Americans did in the past. The riots are but symptoms of deeper tensions in the body politic, tensions over housing, lack of amenities, jobs, class status. These tensions cause frustrations on the part of many people in the society and amount to a potentially destructive force—what K. L. Little has called a "free floating aggression." In the proper circumstances it vents itself against whatever suitable objects are available.

These two factors, the class nature of British society with its attendant tensions

nd the fact that prejudice against other roups is an approved pattern of behavior, re the basic causes of the riots. And the ccurrence of the riots has made the ritish more aware of this fact than they ere in early August 1958. But beyond hese points are a number of minor factors f more immediate import and responsiility.

Social, Economic and Cultural Factors

First is the housing shortage. Housing n Britain is in very short supply. Not nly does Britain have to make normal ousing replacements, but it also is still rying to replace the dwellings destroyed h the war. Thus, when apparently sizable umbers of strange people move into a mmunity, some resentment of them is ound to be felt and expressed. This reentment is further strengthened when me of the so-called foreigners* get pririty for public housing ahead of many nger-term residents because of the subandard conditions under which the rmer are living.

Secondly, there is keen psychological fear n Britain of unemployment. The British emember the Depression days more ividly than do Americans. So, with curent unemployment in Britain running bout 2.2 percent, as opposed to roughly percent in the United States, they tend be quite worried about potential job mpetition from people they erroneously el are non-British. The result is some stility and resentment against easily dentifiable, allegedly non-British populaons.

In the third place, there are many culral differences between the immigrants nd the native-born British. These are uite extreme in many instances. The ritish often resent the West Indian dialect nd the rapid and loud manner in which e West Indians speak. They also scorn eir more colorful use of clothing, greater formality and what many Englishmen nsider to be lack of propriety. As exmples of the latter, the fact is often cited that West Indians apparently like to play their radios louder than do most Englishmen, that they like to sit on their front steps on Sundays and holidays instead of inside the house, that their cooking smells different and that they like to go barefooted in warm weather. All of these actions are generally disapproved by the normally conservative British working class, which prides itself on its respectability. The result is to add to the identifiability of the West Indians.

Next it should be noted that there is some resentment against West Indians for their dating and marrying of British girls. I hesitate to make this point, because the British are so much more tolerant on this subject than Americans that the latter may tend to exaggerate its importance. Also, this sort of attitude is rather hard to evaluate. This is particularly true in Britain in view of the comparitively high rate of intermarriage. Nevertheless, this factor is an additional one that must be considered in explaining the recent outbreaks in Britain.

Status and Mobility

Finally there is envy of the West Indians. The West Indian, in Britain at least, is in many respects more like the American than the Englishman. He is more concerned with improving his status and position in life. The result is that the average lower-class Englishman resents having his West Indian neighbor show him up. The West Indian can do this in a variety of ways: by keeping his home in better condition, by dressing better and more flashily, by saving money more persistently so he can buy a house or car. By and large, the British worker does not think or act in this fashion. In other words, the West Indian is not maintaining his social position as is the average English worker; he is not content with his present status in society. By moving ahead, by demonstrating upward mobility, he shames the Englishman who might do likewise but who does not. The West Indian is damned if he does not maintain standards and damned if he tries to improve on them. He is in a dilemma.

Another factor in these riots and one which has been widely cited in some sections of the British press, is the Teddy

*It should be noted that the West Indians are ritish subjects with all the rights, privileges nd duties of any native-born British person. s such they fall in the same basic category as e Puerto Ricans who are as much American tizens as any native-born American.

Boys* or, as they have been identified in some of the press, "Nazis," "hooligans" and "fascist beasts." By laying the blame for the riots partially at their feet, the press has created scapegoats. This type of action falls into the same category as blaming the Communists or Jews for most of the ills of the world. In both cases the effect is to distract attention from the real issues, the real causes, and thus to hinder analysis and solution of the problem, and to make even more unlikely the possibility of an effective cure for this bleeding sore. The Teddy Boys in London and Nottingham undoubtedly participated in the riots, but they did not cause them. It is interesting to note that in Bristol they are one of the few segments of the general population who participate in West Indian public social events such as dances. In Bristol the two groups get on well together, if somewhat warily. Since Teddy Boys in Bristol are basically the same as those in other areas, they cannot be blamed for these troubles. At the same time it can be unequivocally stated that the immediate blame for the riots can be ascribed to whites and that in no instances were Negroes responsible for them. In so far as fascist elements have participated in and encouraged the riots, they have come far more widely from Sir Oswald Mosley's nationalist movement than from the Teddy Boys.

These then are the basic facts about the English race riots, with their five minor but immediate causes and their two basic, deep-seated causes. There is one other aspect which needs to be briefly commented upon. As K. L. Little has indicated, the areas of West Indian settlement in Britain are in process of change and of resettlement. Old populations are moving out; new ones are moving in. The result is that these areas lack any organized white public opinion under most circumstances. So they are less resistant and hostile to strangers than would otherwise be the case, as for example in a middle-class area. By the same token, however, the absence of public opinion can have negative aspects. We see these in the recent riots. Lackin a public opinion which could exercise an degree of effective restraint on such be havior, once the riots started they wer more likely to be carried to extremes tha in an area which had an operative publi opinion.

Lessons for Americans

In conclusion, two points need to b made. First, Americans must not welcom these riots for the comfort they may giv in our times of racial trouble. This ma seem an unnecessary remark, but when w consider the American attitude towar South Africa in recent years it is evidentl pertinent. It is always easier to see th trouble in someone else's yard than i one's own. Actually Americans have almo as much to learn from these recent rio as do the British themselves.

Second, such riots are valuable to bot peoples because they indicate that th status of the minority in question is chang ing and very probably improving. Let u put this another way. As long as an minority is at the bottom of the social an economic ladder, unable or uninterested i challenging the status quo, then all peaceful, there are no riots. But the mo ment a group starts to lift itself up, or assisted by others to improve its positio relative to the rest of the society, then th possibility of friction and tension aris Race riots are one expression of this fac

While the racial situation in Britain an the United States may be entirely differen in terms of history, total population an size of the minority group in question, w still have many common aspects of socie and culture. If it is worthwhile for Amer cans to concern themselves in any way wit racial difficulties in Britain, it is precise because of the additional insights they gi us on our own problems.

PEACE INFORMATION EDITION →

The following four pages on (tinted paper at right) comprise the Peace Information Edition of **Fellowship**, published on the 1st and 15th of every month. Subscribers receive three issues of this Edition separately between issues of the 36-page bimonthly edition.

* They are so called because they are believed to dress in costume reminiscent of the days of Edward VII. In America they would be called zoot-suiters or pachucos.

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PEACE INFORMATION EDITION

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THE UNTOUCHED ISSUES AT GENEVA

The breakdown of the Geneva meeting of the Foreign secretaries was expected. Neither the Russians nor the Western powers came to grips with the real problem -- the tension over German rearmament. The Americans insisted on German unification by free elections, knowing that Russia would refuse any plan for Germany to be a unified armed member of the Western alliance. Until German unification, said the West, Berlin should remain an occupied city. The Russians, however, are unwilling to approve a permanent or long-term Western occupation of Berlin.

When the Geneva meetings recessed, some U. S. newspapers said the United States should build up Western strength so we might look "as tough as we talk." Actually it is toughness -- the U. S. plan to arm West Germany with nuclear weapons -- that has produced the Berlin crisis, precipitated as it was by the Russians in order to force consideration of the larger German-nuclear weapons problem.

The U. S. offered nothing new toward the settlement of the German problem but tried to confine negotiations to the side issue of Berlin.

It is to the interests of the U. S. to reach a settlement with Russia over Germany. If West Germany adds nuclear weapons to its economic leadership in the new European common market it will soon become the strongest power in the world next to the U. S. and the USSR, and certainly a dominating force in Europe. At this point the USSR will no longer need to negotiate with the U. S. over the fate of Europe but will have to negotiate with West Germany as Stalin did with Hitler. Present Russian policy hopes to avoid this, preferring to avert the German build-up.

But Adenauer, seeing Germany's great opportunities, has decided to stay in power. He, more than any other Western leader, is responsible for the present hard line in negotiations with the Russians.

Another complicating factor is De Gaulle's longing for a new French "grandeur." This includes French possession of nuclear weapons, ballistic missile bases in Algeria and a revised NATO in which France plays an equal role with Britain and the United States. No one has an answer to what happens to France after De Gaulle, but either a Communist or a Fascist France armed with nuclear weapons could only intensify German armaments and hence a central European crisis. Eisenhower, unwilling to go to a summit meeting with Khrushchev, *is* willing to discuss French aspirations with an "old comrade-at-arms," De Gaulle.

It is in this realm of United States negotiations with present allies -- Germany and France -- that the greatest danger for the future lies. Only an agreement with the USSR for preventing the nuclear armament of Europe and indeed the rest of the world can give us the opportunities to forestall the great crisis that seems to be building up for the future. Such an agreement, it should be remembered, would not automatically bring peace; but it could be an important first step in that direction.

Unfortunately no one in high position in the U. S. government has been talking in these terms and therefore a decision to continue to be "tough" with the Russians may get us into the water beyond our depth.

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Woman Tax Refuser Arrested

On June 16, at 7 a.m., Mrs. Juanita Nelson was arrested at her Philadelphia home and carried bodily to the U. S. Courthouse by U. S. marshals and Philadelphia policemen. A member of Peacemakers and wife of FOR member Wallace Nelson, Mrs. Nelson is the first woman to be arrested for tax refusal based on opposition to war.

The Nelsons formerly lived in Cincinnati, Ohio, for over six years and are close friends of the Rev. Maurice McCrackin, who recently completed a six-month prison term for refusing to cooperate with the Office of Internal Revenue. Like him, the Nelsons have openly refused for the past ten years to pay their income taxes, because of the high percentage of federal funds used for war purposes. Also like McCrackin, Mrs. Nelson has consistently declined to cooperate in any way with her arrest.

Omaha Action Gets Underway

In Omaha, Nebraska, participants in a new nonviolent direct action campaign gathered last month in preparation for a week-long vigil at the gate of the nearby U. S. intercontinental ballistics missile base. Beginning July 1, demonstrators plan to attempt to enter the base and, if ejected, some of them will engage in "nonviolent obstruction," attempting to block vehicles entering the base by standing or sitting in the entrance.

The demonstration is being conduct by Omaha Action, an *ad hoc* pacif group with Homer A. Jack as chairm and Bradford Lyttle and A. J. Mus as co-ordinators.

Religious Groups Ask End of Capital Punishment

In recent months, many religio bodies have gone on record again capital punishment.

On April 27, the Commission Social Action of Reform Judaism i sued a study guide booklet, "Man Right to Life" by Ruth Leigh, for u by its 275 social action committee The pamphlet states that the dea penalty is a "brutalization of the h man spirit and an arrogation to vindi tive man of the life-taking power whi inheres only in God."

In Austin, Texas, on April 14, t 72nd annual assembly of the Tex Convention of Christian Church (Disciples) passed a resolution calli capital punishment "cruel, inhuma and unjust" and asking local churche to "urge the Texas legislature to abo ish the death penalty."

At its 279th annual meeting April 1, the Philadelphia Yearly Mee ing of Friends declared its belief th "there is no crime for which the dea penalty should be imposed," and presse for its abolition in Pennsylvania a New Jersey.

A week later, after a two-hour heat debate, the New Jersey State Assemb defeated, 30-19, an abolition bill i troduced by Assemblyman C. Willia Baines, a Quaker.

In Florida, the legislature fail to enact a bill that would have su stituted mandatory life imprisonme for the death penalty. Speaking for t bill, Gov. LeRoy Collins said: "On God can give human life. Man shou not take it away." Referring to arg ments for capital punishment as "deterrent," Gov. Collins added th criminologists are universally agre that "capital punishment does n deter."

eacemongers in Congress

eing excerpts from the debate on ilitary appropriations in the House of epresentatives, June 3, 1959.)

r. JOHNSON (Colorado). We are told is is a peace budget. Peace will be iilt, not by terror, but by the settlement of disputes by peaceful means--owever difficult negotiations may be--/ all-out support of the United Naons in establishing the rule of reason id the rule of law, and by earnest ipport of general disarmament. The indreds of millions of hungry persons Asia and Africa cannot eat our bayots, do not want to be blanketed by llout from our bombs, but do want ir sympathetic help in establishing ealthy economies and in overcoming nger, misery, illiteracy, disease and overty without the totalitarian methods communism...

We say we are buying time. Yet, as eneral Bradley has properly warned: Time is running out--with the speed a sputnik." The time for more conructive action is now.

ie CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentlean from Colorado has expired.

. MEYER (Vermont). ...In all the dete that we have had we develop noing but propaganda, a war spirit and spirit of hate. We have no idea of rking out a new solution, a new way. iese old military methods will not rk, yet we do not have the courage find a new way...

d. Note: The bill was passed by a te of 393--3, with the Nay votes cast Harmon of Indiana, Johnson of lorado and Meyer of Vermont.)

---

rld Refugee Year Begins

On June 28, the Presidents of the rld Council of Churches, in a spel message to member churches, called "prayers, intensified action and ntinuing charity" on behalf of the rld's estimated 45 million refugees. The message, announcing the beining of the UN-sponsored World Refugee Year, pointed out that the World Council Presidents have not always been satisfied "that the governments of the free world have been constant in their concern" for refugees, and stressed that while it will take more than a single year to solve this problem, the World Refugee Year "may result in far greater attention to their needs in the years to follow." The statement noted that the large numbers of refugees comprise not only a human tragedy but, as long as the problem remains unremedied, "a continuing threat to peace and security."

New School Offers NV Course

On June 23, the New School for Social Research began a seven-week course on "The Philosophy of Nonviolence." The course discusses the philosophy and methods of Gandhi and traces its roots in the philosophies and religions of India, as well as discussing the pacifist teachings of the Mennonites, Quakers and other "peace sects."

The course, which may be taken for regular college degree credit, has been taught for nine years by Subodh Chandra Roy, a professor of philosophy who studied with S. Rakhakrishnan and participated in the Satyagraha campaigns for Indian independence.

The New School is located at 66 West 12th St., New York City.

LIT NOTES

Free reprints of "Foreign Policy and Christian Conscience," an article by George F. Kennan that appeared in the June *Atlantic Monthly*, are available from FELLOWSHIP, Box 271, Nyack, N. Y. Readers of the bimonthly edition will note that A. J. Muste quotes from the Kennan article in "NOW is the Appointed Time" (see p. 5).

* * *

Copies of "The Growing Power of the Military" and "The Army Gets Its Way" by John M. Swomley Jr., both reprinted from *The Progressive*, are available at 10¢ and 5¢ respectively, from the National Council Against Conscription, 104 C St. N. E., Washington 2, D. C.

VOLUNTEERS FOR PEACE

"...the greatest experience of my life." That's how one of the participants in the FOR's first VOLUNTEERS FOR PEACE training session last winter described the experience. Now you can register for such a session of intensive training in the background of war and the work for peace, with leaders whose names you have known for years.

VOLUNTEERS FOR PEACE -- 1959

Two sessions: (1) at FOR National Headquarters, Nyack, N. Y. --Oct. 9-12 incl. (2) Chicago area, Oct. 16-19 incl. *with such subjects as these:*

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The World Scene Today
Deterrence and Limited War
Theory and Practice of Non-violence
The Pacifist and the Law
Role-Playing in Reconciliation
and many others

Enroll now--for information write to

Nyack -- Earle Warner, Box 271, Nyack, N. Y.
Chicago -- Mrs. Dorothy Calkins, 1217 Judson Ave., Evanston, Ill.

Budgets--War and Peace

A sharp-eyed FOR member caug an error in the FOR's recent Annu Report and Budget, in which the orga zation's total budget was indicated the equivalent of what the governme spends for war purposes every minu At some point the FOR's electron calculator, named Hassler for purpos of convenience, broke down: the c rect equation is 1 3/4 minutes.

The FOR's budget is approximate $175,000. The national budget for t year ending June 30, 1959, amount to $73 billion, of which $53 billion w for wars, past, present and futu This works out to almost exactly $1 000 per minute. Direct military app priations for that period amounted $48 billion.

DATES TO REMEMBER

July 22-24. Leaders conference on n violence. Speakers: Richard Gre M. L. King, Charles R. Lawrence, W Stuart Nelson, A. Philip Randolph, D. Reddick. At Spellman College, lanta. Joint sponsors: FOR, Southe Christian Leadership Conf. and COR

August 1-8. "Avon-at-Winni": AF Institute at Lake Winnepesaukee, N. Write: AFSC, Box 247, Cambridge, Ma

August 15-18. FOR Family Camp a
August 18-22. FOR National Conf ence, at Green Lake, Wisconson. Wri Glenn Smiley, Box 271, Nyack, N. Y.

Peace of Mind vs. World Peace

"Churches must go beyond governments in developing mutual understanding between nations. Churchmen generally are not really aroused to the perils of our changing planet. They are more concerned about their peace of mind than about the peace of the world. Many organizations, even with religious labels, keep themselves going by capitalizing the prejudices and suspicions, not only of the crowd, but of the well-to-do.

"Dictators are human. They overplay their hands and disappear. But when science unlocks the secrets of nature and looses titanic new powers, these do not disappear. They must be controlled or the race will disappear.

"For the first time in human history man can commit race suicide. The most frightening thought is that mankind is now at the mercy of random, promiscuous or accidental contingencies." *--Ralph W. Sockman*

The Man Who Dropped the Bomb on HIROSHIMA

BY CURTISS MOODY AND ALFRED HASSLER

N AUGUST 6, 1945, Claude Eatherly dropped The Bomb on Hiroshima. Claude Eatherly, young American late North Texas State College, dropped e first atomic bomb the world had ever n, and killed upwards of 100,000 men, men and children. The nerveless young my Air Force major, only a few years m the easy days of campus life, loosed Japanese soldiers and kindergarten ldren alike a dreadful force that de-med and defaced what it did not kill tright, and left its mark forever on the nocent bodies and minds of noncombat-ts.

Claude Eatherly did that, and Claude therly knows it. He knows it in spite of doctors and friends and Air Force ople who have told him that he didn't: t he was only the instrument that car-d out orders from above, and only a rt of the instrument at that. He knows and because he knows it his life has be-ne a hell of remorse and fear and gedy. Because he knows it, Claude herly, erstwhile nerveless holder of the tinguished Flying Cross, is for the sec-d time a mental patient in a Veterans spital in Texas. Because he knows it, fancies are ridden with the conviction t the Japanese are "after him," thirsting revenge.

Major Eatherly was the pilot of the B-29 t carried The Bomb to Hiroshima. ter, before his discharge, he took part some of the postwar tests of atomic bombs in the Pacific. But the thing he had done to the Japanese city had begun to haunt him, and, in January 1947, he resigned his commission and returned to civilian life.

For a while the excitement of a new job and the joys of a home with his wife and baby son, pushed the haunting memories into the background. But the newsreels and the newspapers and magazines, full of the new weapon and preoccupied with the awful demonstrations of its power in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, would not let him go. He began to drink to blur the sharp edges of his guilt.

Gradually he became increasingly irritable and withdrawn; his family seemed less important as the cloud of guilt shadowed his every moment. Every sunset was a reminder of the fiery clouds of The Day; every night was a sleepless torment.

Woven into his anguish came two immediate, palpable tragedies: in 1947 and 1948, Mrs. Eatherly had miscarriages of malformed foetuses. Subsequent tests indicated that many of her husband's sperm cells had become peculiarly malformed.

The burden was too much to bear. One day Eatherly's wife returned from a shopping trip to find him unconscious on the floor, blood oozing from self-inflicted gashes in his wrists. His wife got help quickly to save his life, but it continued to be a life bereft of energy or sense of purpose. He sought help from the Veterans Administration doctors, but they, too, were

"You Are Daily in Our Prayers"

Dear Claude:

This beautiful letter that came from the Japanese FOR and is enclosed for you* carries a powerful message. It did not come to me the first time I read it, but this morning as I reread it, it brought not only their love and brotherly concern and sympathy and prayers but the directive for your life!

John R. Mott, the Nobel Peace Prize winner said once, "You can become strongest in your weakest place." After our conversation together in the Dallas jail, I've been seeking an answer to your problem of wanting to suffer in your person for your guilt feelings. You said you kind of felt you were doing so in jail.

The Japanese friends have a better answer, the wholesome love-shared answer of letting God use your life as a spiritual repairman, bearing the burden of forgiveness in your person to others. This will give you a new center around which to orient your life, a new purpose and new meaning of existence. Then, that which has been weakness, will be your greatest strength! The world still needs men and women who can accept the servant-role as Jesus did in the spirit of Isaiah's 53rd chapter. Some of us find that, when we are willing, His resources somehow come. . . .

Know that you are daily in our prayers, and in the thoughts of many, the world around. We give thanks for our friendship in Him.

With loving prayers,
Mrs. Harold L. Lunger

* See opposite page.

unable to get inside the shell he had bl around his deep feeling of guilt.

In 1950, a ray of joy seemed to glim when Mrs. Eatherly gave birth to a bl girl. But it was found that the baby a blood disease similar to pernicious mia. Except for the malformation of sperm cells, Eatherly had hitherto bee nearly perfect physical specimen. Now blood tests showed that he, like his da ter, had the same mysterious blood ease. Could this be divine retribution what he had done—or just an unfortu accident? The experts had isolated washed down Eatherly's plane after Bikini tests—perhaps they had not him all their fears.

The next few years Eatherly spent and out of the hospital. Trouble dog his steps. In one moment of utter desp tion, he joined some other rootless men a scheme involving robbery and forg and was caught.

In 1954, another daughter was born the Eatherlys. And again the mysteri blood disease was found in the baby.

Two years ago, psychiatry seemed to h put Claude Eatherly on the road to covery at last, but a man does not ea break such a pattern. This spring he again involved in criminal activities. authorities referred him again to Veterans Hospital, where doctors friends once more will try to help surmount the wall of guilt the years h built around him.

This time they will have a new all some of the people whom Claude Eath fears. Word of the former flier's trouble reached the press in Japan, brought a warm and unexpected respo With no prompting from this coun the Japanese Fellowship of Reconciliat wrote Major Eatherly a letter convey its members' "warm and unaffected s pathy." "We wish you to know," wrote, "that we regard you as a victim war . . . and are praying for your c plete recovery."

The Japanese letter has been delive to Eatherly by a vice-chairman of American FOR who has tried before help him and who wrote, "Know that are daily in our prayers, and in thoughts of many, the world around."

nother letter is reported to be on the from Japan, too. This will carry an n more poignant message: an expression forgiveness and good will from the iving Hiroshima Maidens, who as ng children were burned and scarred he bomb that Claude Eatherly carried, on behalf of all the rest of us, when he journeyed to Hiroshima that fatal day fourteen years ago.

You in Japan, pray for all of us who have not had the wit that Claude Eatherly had to recognize our guilt for this dreadful deed!

A LETTER FROM JAPAN

YUWA/KAI
Fellowship of Reconciliation
1-6 Kanda Nishikicho
Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo

Major Claude Eatherley,
Waco Veterans Hospital
Waco, Texas, U.S.A.

Dear Major Eatherley:

We, the undersigned, are members of Yuwa Kai ("Fellowship of Reconciliation" n English) in Japan, an organization of Christians founded to promote peace among men through acts of Christian love and affiliated to the International Fellowhip of Reconciliation.

We have been prompted to address you this letter by news cabled from Dallas, Texas, to our newspapers, with information to the effect that after the bombing of Hiroshima, you have become mentally ill and had to be hospitalized recently for reatment.

We are addressing you this letter in order to convey to you our warm and unffected sympathy. We believe that you were acting either under the orders of your uperiors which you could not disobey, or under the impluses of war psychology nto which men and women are driven in wartime in any country and engage in orrible, inhuman actions without realizing what consequences they entail. It is he barbarous institution called "war" which leads mankind into such tragic situaions. We urge that all our efforts, efforts of men in all lands, should be directed owards putting an end to that outmoded, savage institution for the survival of man.

With this letter comes to you our warm sympathy and earnest prayer that you ecover speedily from the state of derangement. We wish you to know that we egard you as a victim of war in much the same way as those who were injured in he war, and are praying for your complete recovery and that the day shall come vhen you will join the forces of good will, forgiving any wrongs of the past and n either part and work for establishing a peaceful world, a world of reconciliation nd love.

May God bless you, hasten your recovery and help you so that you may decide o devote your life to the cause of peace.

With warm personal regards and in brotherly love,

Sincerely yours,

Iwao Ayusawa, *Chairman, Japanese FOR*
Hatsue Nonomiya
Paul M. Sekiya, *Executive Secretary*
Bunichi Kajami
Hideyo Seki, *Treasurer*

Circles That Take I

BY JOHN R. YUNGBL

ALL OF US HAVE memories from early childhood which are stirred by some chance association. Often the thing remembered had made a profound impression of beauty. One such experience for me was the fascination provided by dropping a pebble into a clear pool of water. The moving and expanding circles appeared to be pursuing one another in sprightly dance.

There was something quite mysterious about the way this simple pattern of motion held me in thrall. I marveled that something which stirred the surface at one point could have so visible an effect on a constantly expanding area. Though the waves might subside to ripples and become ever smaller at a distance, yet only the very shores of the water could put a stop to them. I wondered whether, were there no shores to break the motion, it would persist until it had encircled the world.

Later on, in school, I learned that there were such things as sound waves, too, and that these moved through the air in concentric circles. They could pass even through solids. Moreover, if there were some disturbance within the earth in the form of an earthquake or slippage of rock, waves were set in motion that could move right through mountains and be measured by delicate instruments thousands of miles away. A child's play had afforded a symbol, a concept, that was to be of use in understanding some of the laws of Nature.

As one matures and turns his study human nature and the intricate field human relations, once again the old ture comes to mind. The circles here endless and boundless in their interlac patterns. But a far more delicately trai eye is needed to follow with fascinat the waves set in motion by hostility tenderness, rejection or acceptance, in ference or interest as they make their evitable way across the conscious and conscious strata of the human personal Extraordinary sensitivity is required respond with deep compassion to process.

The poet, Edwin Markham, has a of pointing up a very profound truth the compass of a single verse. In one of poems he is speaking of these circles emanate from human personality. He scribes in four lines the poignant dra of encounter, conflict and resolution:

"He drew a circle that shut me ou
Heretic, rebel, a thing to flout.
But love and I had the wit to wir
We drew a circle that took him in."

There is in this verse much insight the first place there is hinted the infi pathos involved in rejection—not only hurt for the one who is rejected, but tragic and incalculable loss for the who rejects. In the second place, ther suggested the costly process of redemp love—which has first the creative in

ation to conceive the possibility of common ground, then the courage that will not accept defeat but goes on loving, despite the pain and sorrow. In the enormously important task of disarming hostility and establishing the bonds of creative relationship, Markham describes accurately the sound strategy for victory. Someone has drawn a circle that shuts you out? Very well then, you conspire with love to draw a circle that will take him in.

Now come a step farther and observe an interesting thing about the waves that extend outward from any point of impetus: they always remain related to that center. This is true whether the waves are ripples on the surface of a body of water, sound waves, waves of shock passing through the earth's core, or waves initiated by human emotion and purpose. But we must note an important distinction: all sound and shock waves behave in the same way, but in the sphere of human relationships, there is a circle that shuts out as well as one that takes in. All waves exert some kind of influence and set in motion processes of cause and effect. But some of these waves buffet, harass and wound all that they come in contact with while others disarm, console and heal all they touch. Whether one of these concentric circles is going to shut out or take in depends entirely upon the kind of blow that is struck or the force that is generated inside that mysterious center we call the heart of the person—where it took shape and from whence it set forth on its destiny of influence for good or ill.

The Criterion of Real Life

An English author, J. H. Oldham, has taken a phrase from the writing of the great Jewish mystic, Martin Buber, and has made it the title of an interesting book: *Real Life is Meeting*. The implication of that phrase is unmistakable: all real life, that is life that is worth living, involves some kind of meeting—and meeting inevitably requires concentric circles that take in rather than shut out. The truth is that all our lives involve relationships which are characterized by meeting or failure to meet. It is possible for two people to live together, to share the same house, and even to live on the same income, without ever really meeting. Our predicament is even more involved because at best our most satisfying relationships involve both meeting and failure to meet. Nevertheless, if we are honest, our common witness will point to the same truth: in those moments when we are really meeting another, we are really living. The quality of any man's life will depend in the end on two factors: the number of different kinds of individuals with whom in some genuine sense he is actually meeting, and the depth and power of the meeting which takes place with any one of them. There is no other sound criterion for real Life.

This being so, a man's capacity to meet another, his ability to draw circles that take in, will depend upon the degree in which he himself represents a unity, an interior integrity and wholeness. If he finds that the same center in him is initiating conflicting impulses which negate and counter one another, then he cannot effectively draw circles that take others in. He will experience a soul-sickness which might be called "torn-to-pieces-ness." "The good that I would, I do not, and the evil that I would not, that I do." This is our some kind of Hell, isn't it? It is Hell to be alive and yet not living. As someone has put it, in a simple but inexhaustibly fertile prayer: "O God, keep me alive as long as I live."

Until a man comes to himself, that is, until he is put together in some way so that one sustained, integrated purpose dominates his life, he cannot be a whole man. Unless he is at unity with himself, he cannot be anything wholly or decisively. First, as Kierkegaard has shown, there must be established at the core the purity which is "to will one thing" above all other things and in some sense *in* all other things. Then there can be meeting.

When this unity does not exist, how can it be brought into being? Only a person who is capable of loving even when he himself is shut out by another, of treating the other as if he were a unity even when he is not can help in this extremity. Such a person possesses the imagination to perceive a unity that might be. This therapy takes all the wit a man has; but more, it requires love's cooperation and motivation.

Dean Inge has described the distinctive

quality of Christian joy as being absorbed in some creative activity. If this be so, then the greatest joy of all would be the highest creative activity, namely, conspiring with love to draw a circle that takes another in, even when he may want to stay outside—takes him in through genuine, voluntary meeting. This takes all the wit and artistry and love a man can muster and a good deal more—even the grace of God. A woman has described what happened to her through the loving concern expressed by a counselor:

"I came to you in fragments.
Not what you did—
For you did nothing—
But what you said
Has made me whole.

How could you mend a life
So quickly?
How could you see
Which pieces fitted where?

For who could take
A shattered vase
And restore it in an hour?
And who could take
A broken branch
And give it power to flower?

How could you heal
My soul with words?
I never trusted words.
I simply put my faith in living
And thought that truth lay in the giving.

You showed me the concentric circle.
And the single center it reveals;
Showed me my soul outstretched
And broken upon tangent wheels;
Released me from the strain of uncoordinated tensions;
Gave me the sight to see again
My first and true intentions."

It is love alone that can save from what St. Paul called "the body of this death" that is, the terrible fragmentation that precludes real meeting and therefore constitutes a kind of living death.

If the poet, informed by the good news of the Gospel, had gained possession of this secret, so that with love she had the wit to win, then we are directed to the source and fountainhead of the greatest love men have ever experienced at the hands of another—the love of Jesus Christ. *See now what a circle he drew to take men in!* The fourth Gospel describes the rock God dropped into the sea of life, the rock we call the incarnation. "God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son to the end that all who believe in Him should have life everlasting." "He became flesh and dwelt among us." The concentric circles emanating from that act are still issuing from that center and still encircling the world.

The New Creature in Christ

What precisely does Christ do for a man? To know Christ is first of all "to be a new creature in Him." To be related to Him is to be at one with yourself, to be whole. It is the peculiar quality of the love of Christ that works this miracle. Old loves are burnt out. There is a cauterizing process which purifies and renews. But before this can happen there must be a surrendering to Him, a focus of attention upon Him, a strong and persistent desire to know Him and to follow Him. Moreover, even after one is committed to Christ and His way, it is essential to turn to him daily in prayer to rediscover the mind of Christ and to conform anew to the simplicity and unity that are in Him.

Once one is rooted and grounded in Christ, then he may experience the greatest joy—the art of drawing circles that take people in. This becomes the great fascination and preoccupation of his life.

To be "in Christ" is to embrace every other human relationship in that bond. Only so may a man retain a rich harmony in the original pattern he must weave of interrelationship. Unless every relationship is bound within the basic relationship to Christ, some of them will be in open conflict with each other, will tend to cancel out or to negate each other. There will be deception and concealment and dishonesty. The soul's center will be torn asunder. No two people can retain a permanently satisfying relationship to each other unless each is related consciously to God. The two must be aware of the third

(Continued on Page 35)

potpourri

Truth for Survival

MANY UNLEARNED MEN have possessed profound wisdom. This fact has often puzzled historians. They try to trace greatness to its beginning but they cannot find his beginning; this source, this teacher. They have come to regard certain great leaders as self-taught. But if they would ask a truly great man himself, often he would say, "I am not good nor great. I live only in the grace of God. I love people and that is the light which is Christ." Historians often do not understand such words. Henry Adams was an able historian who searched all his life for the key to education. He finally traced its source to religion but he could not rationalize or believe in what he found.

The key is the way of truth and compassion. Those two added together make up the necessities or the soil for learning. Osborn Andreas, contemporary critic, in his work on Henry James, has expressed it his way: "Compassion is the clue to conduct. . . . Error shrinks the mind while truth enlarges it." He goes on to declare that compassion is the device, the methodology by which one purifies one's sensibility and perfects it as an instrument of perception. The mind must be purified in order to see and to learn. The mind, purified, becomes the mind inspired. When compassion is counted, not as a mark of softness, but as a method of education and a way of wisdom, then we have truly found the way to higher education. When truth is pointed out to university students as well as to children, not merely as a moral maxim but as an instrument of learning, then the doors of knowledge will swing wide open and we shall all be brighter and come out from our years of confusion.

This is what Gandhi meant when he embraced truth as a way of life and made it work. This is what Gandhi meant when he embraced truth as a way of life and made it work. This is what Jesus meant when he said, "Feed my sheep," for he knew we must have compassion for the sheep of the world before we can be filled with truth and find a way to feed (teach) them. We must see and feel hunger before we know how to give the bread of life.

This is education: to know people, to understand their needs and to reach out with compassion to help them when they are in distress. The mind opens with such activity and begins to stretch and grow. And as we know others we begin to know ourselves—our limitations and our possibilities. We begin to know God, the power which may be summoned to help another.

"Christ is education." How many know what that means today? How many believe in compassion as an educator, that the mind compassionate is like God's mind, creative and powerful? I wonder why Christ told us to go the second mile? Was it not to be sure that we would go the first mile? Truth is an educator, an order that heals confusion. A struggle to tell truth results in new meanings grasped, a light where there was darkness, a way to learning as though a doorway had been cut through to hidden answers. Christ is evolution! Our human destiny leads us toward enlightenment.

Pascal said, "Men are not taught to be honest but they are taught everything else." And the man on the street echoes this knowledge. As the editor of the Milwaukee *Journal* said a few years ago, "You can't legislate integrity. But you can teach it in the homes, schools and churches of the nation. Somewhere that teaching has failed." People who are appalled by the lack of moral fiber today do not yet realize that the education we demand rests on this foundation we have overlooked. For when we do teach honesty we teach it as an attitude of expediency: "Honesty is the best policy." We should teach it as a matter of life or death. Your living depends on your honesty. Your education depends on how you tell the truth. Your mind must have food in order to grow, and the best food is compassion. To make yourself strong

you must have sympathy for the weak, for unless you help to lift the disease of ignorance, you are yourself suffering from the same disease. Some would say that sacrifice gives to the individual a warm glow of satisfaction, and that is why it, too, may be selfish. When Jesus said, "Feed my sheep," and repeated it three times for Peter, he knew that it was hard. The glow which comes to the spirit, after the sacrifice, is not of vanity or of self. It is the glow of light that opens the mind beyond self and beyond vanity. St. Francis kissed the leper, whom he despised and dreaded, and from that time on he became a changed man. With that kiss, he became the leper's brother and thereby a brother to all men. He took the path of compassion and found the time and energy he needed to help all those who needed his help. He worked out a new form of brotherhood, purified the church as he himself had been purified, and went on to write his immortal canticles, which are now remembered and written in tables of stone to adorn and light up the gardens of America.

James was a fisherman, untaught, but he also wrote words that cannot be forgotten. He wrote: "If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not, and shall be given him." This is truth. To hav compassion for others who do not hav these truths or know how to find them would seem mandatory. I believe that onl a remnant of people who acted in supreme conviction that this is true and who care enough to talk about it, could bring abou an upsurge in education and the survival of the world. Fighting for freedom is a lie and those who believe in it must becom liars, in order to make it go. For freedom is a moral virtue and no moral virtue ca be won except by sacrifice—a sacrifice which does not entail doing violence t any other.

And there is a remnant telling truth with compassion for a world whose hunger and poverty and ignorance is ever before us. These are the ones who may puzzl the historians of the future! For with re peated blasts from their trumpets of truth the iron curtain of fear and suspicion wil fall away, and the world will taste of truth and know that it is sweet. As we evolve to meet the new situations, we shall know survival. For the world has chosen death but Jesus has overcome the world. There is survival in the future to those who know that the truth does máke us free.

—Marion Louise Blis

Jesus, Gandhi and Our Fellowship

In May an FOR Conference on Race Relations was held. Invitations sent out earlier carried with them a request for suggestions on topics to focus on in the conference. The following letter was written, not for publication, but as a reply to that request. Because of its broad relevance for our fellowship, however, the editors have obtained the writer's kind permission to publish it.

I believe my answers would be as follows:

1. That the FOR *is* a fellowship and we must so maintain it, with a common devotion to the Christ's way of life, of overcoming evil with good, a common concern for working this out towards more Christ-like community life, including "race relations," but each one to work in his own way. The present race relations situation is not merely explosive; it is also *highly* complex. It involves changing patterns o life, of outlook and of interpersonal rela tions due to migrations, urbanization mechanization, labor-capital struggles an intercultural shock as diverse group pa terns and outlooks for the first time cam together. One of the great tragedies of ou present situation and one which is greatl aggravating our difficulties is the tendenc to reduce all these complexities to a singl issue of politico-legal "civil rights" versu "states rights" or of "segregation" versu "integration." Profound and vast woul be the wisdom of any individual or grou which could with assurance chart a cours in these stormy waters with unfailing wi dom. We shall not all agree on method We must not require this nor expect a FOR members either to reject or to sup port particular programs.

2. That we should not confuse Gandh

nd Jesus. I find a danger of this con-
usion widespread among some FOR mem-
ers and some Friends. Gandhi was, I
cknowledge thankfully, one of the world's
reatest statesmen in a day that called
esperately for statesmanship of a high
rder. He brought to the emancipation of
ndia vision, wisdom and shrewdness—and
n inspiring self-discipline; he brought
reat spirituality—so that in all his struggle
e never lost sight of ultimate human
rotherhood.

Jesus was not a statesman. His primary
oncern always was the personal relation
f man to God and in and through this
o his fellow men.

Both men lived in nations passionately
esiring their freedom from oppressive,
lien conquerors and full of movements
f revolt. Gandhi devoted his life to the
eeing of his people; Jesus rejected the
arallel course. I do not think any sincere
erson can twist the Gospel records into
aking Jesus appear as a national political
ero, or the contemporary record into de-
riving Gandhi of this primary role. I see
grave danger of our thinking of our-
selves as primarily Gandhians with Christianity as a useful source of power for political ends rather than Christians with a concern for our fellow men of all political persuasions.

It is dangerous to pick on some one incident or episode about which we can wrangle forever, yet perhaps symbolic of the difference would be the difference of replies of the two to this question: "Teacher, what shall I do if a soldier of our alien conquerors requires me to carry his pack a mile, as the law of the conqueror gives him the right to do?" Jesus: "Carry it two. Overcome his evil by your good." Gandhi: "Lie down in the road. Even though he kick and beat you do not carry his pack, but do not strike back." Gandhi freed a nation by a method infinitely superior to war. Jesus freed the soul of man from bondage to exterior circumstance.

I beg that the Conference and FOR leaders will give prayerful consideration to this question. It will search the souls of us all, I am certain, as it is searching mine.

MARGARET C. McCULLOCH

"From now on, anybody who seriously attempts to understand the meaning of race for the Christian, for the church and for society will have to deal with this book."

—HAROLD E. FEY

The Racial Problem in Christian Perspective

By KYLE HASELDEN, Baptist Temple, Charleston, W. Va. In this brilliant commentary, a Southern pastor declares that the major sin of the white Christian church has not merely been in its passive default but in its direct and sometimes malicious contribution to the race-caste system in America. A perceptive appraisal of the obligation and opportunity of the Church. "Whether he is dealing with the history of segregation or the history of Christian thought on racial issues or with the tragic facts of racial tensions, he is always wise, learned, charitable and courageous. This book can be recommended very highly."—REINHOLD NIEBUHR

$3.50

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BOOKS

A CO's Prison Report

WE WHO WOULD NOT KILL by Jim Peck. Lyle Stuart, New York 1958. 208 pp., $3.

We Who Would Not Kill is the rather pretentious title of an unpretentious book of memories by a pacifist who apparently just wanted to get some of his experience off his chest. Jim Peck was a news reporter before becoming a full-time pacifist, and his book reflects his professional background. He tells his story in a reportorial style—factually, chronologically, episodically—with a minimum of interpretation or introspection.

Peck is not particularly concerned—in his book—with pacifism as an ideology, but with the personal and social consequences of it. And apparently the consequence that made the deepest impression on him was a 28½-month stretch in the federal prison at Danbury, Conn., during World War II, as a conscientious objector.

Although the book ranges over a period of 25 years or so, 80 percent of its pages are devoted to his prison experience. Like most pacifists, Peck has an instinctive drive to reform his environment, whatever it may be at the moment, and prison was no exception. His accounts of the efforts of the COs at Danbury to reform, frustrate or defeat the prison system and its employees constitute the real heart of his story. And it is frequently entertaining and informative. In fact, one section, devoted to an exposé of the favored treatment of wealthy prisoners, provided enough sensational material to make a headline newspaper feature story.

I was vaguely disquieted by the undercurrent of contempt and disdain for the prison guards, and by the consistent use of derisive prison jargon, such as "screws" and "hacks" which jars in the same sense as "wops" or "frogs."

But the language adds, too, to the "inside prison" flavor, and it is often easy to be caught up in the contest between the "good guys" and the "bad guys." The origins of some successful prison reforms, especially in the Jim Crow area, will be of special interest to anyone unacquainted with this phenomenon.

In the last thirty pages, the author skims through the dozen or more post-prison years, most of them spent with CORE, in interracial work, with frequent forays into pacifist activities, including the still-active Golden Rule affair.

Jim Peck tells only sketchily how he became a pacifist, but seems most impressed, at least in retrospect, by Remarque and the exposés of the "merchants of death" of the early 1930s. He gives a hint as to the source of his rebelliousness in telling even so briefly that he was very fond of his father but couldn't stand his mother. More illuminating is his comment that he was "strongly impressed" by the effectiveness of nonviolence in ending racial discrimination. "By taking a pacifist position in war we did not stop war. We merely set an example. Pacifist action in race relations brought immediate, concrete results."

This statement highlights the total impact of the entire book: that Jim Peck is less the thinker and the writer, and more the man of action. —JOHN MCGRATH

God's Word for Race Relations

THE BIBLE AND RACE by T. B. Maston. Broadman Press 1959, 117 pp., $2.50.

This little book is the work of a conservative Baptist theologian, who is also a native Southerner. T. B. Maston was for thirty-six years a teacher at Southwestern Seminary. Both facts are in the book's favor, especially for those who think of opposition to segregation as "vicious liberal propaganda from the North."

Here a deeply religious Christian traces with profound sincerity the major Biblical teachings which have a bearing on the racial attitudes of Christians. He does not do legalistic proof-texting, but picks out major and incontrovertible Biblical teachings:

"In the image of God"
"He made of one"
"No respector of persons"
"Love your neighbor"
"Go ye into all the world, teaching them."

Quietly but surely he presses home the esson that for Christians there can be no livisions. God is the God of all mankind. He sees Jesus fraternizing with Samaritans, and being called a "Samaritan" ("Nigger-lover"?) in turn. He takes up the rgument from the "curse on Canaan" and rom the standpoint of the most conservative Biblical study (without a trace of locumentary analysis to muddy the waters) lemolishes it. His argument should win the upport of the sometimes socially backward but deeply religious people who are he backbone of our churches and whose upport is essential if the problem is to be olved. It cannot be solved on the institutional level alone. It must be solved in the earts of men, in their personal attitudes, nd Christians must be first.

Pacifists may drag their feet a little as hey read his chapter on "The powers that e are ordained of God," arguing for loyal upport of the law of the land, because it s the law. But even here he comes out in he right place, arguing for the right of onscientious objection, if it is conscientious, but insisting that the objector must e willing to pay the penalty for it.

Two experiences may indicate the power f this book. I read it while lecturing in irginia. I found myself greatly liberated y it. My argument centered more firmly n the basic issues. Furthermore, I found ny audience, church audiences all, responding with real warmth (not heat).

Also, I left the book open, face-down, on the desk in my hotel room when I went out one day. The next day the maid said, as she made up the room, "Excuse me, but can you tell me where I could get a copy of that book?"

I assured her that she could get it in her Baptist book store. She confessed, "I hope you don't mind, but I couldn't keep from looking at it, and I read a couple of chapters."

In view of the curtain of non-communication which has descended between the races in these days, a book that can do that deserves a wide sale.

—Lowell Brestel Hazzard

Faith Without Footnotes

Know Your Faith by Nels F. S. Ferré. Harper 1959. 125 pp., $2.50.

Few theologians have the knack of popularizing their own basic thinking. Among this select company is FOR member Nels Ferré, whose penetrating, scholarly and sometimes recondite works have been interspersed over the years with laymen's chapbooks such as *Making Religion Real.*

Know Your Faith is Dr. Ferré's fifteenth book. It follows in the wake of last year's *Christ and the Christian* and carries much of that book's spiritual cargo without the ballast of scholarship that made it too weighty a book for some readers.

PENDLE HILL — COURSES FOR 1959-60

AUTUMN TERM BEGINS OCTOBER 2

HOWARD BRINTON: Quaker history and doctrines; Mysticism in Christianity and other religions; Quakerism and Modern Thought.

LEWIS BENSON: The Disciple Church in History (Autumn Term).

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Dr. Ferré defines his theological outlook as that of "classical Christianity." That this position has for him a firmer foundation than the mere weight of tradition is evident in the following remark: "If any religion is in fact more universal than Christ's in love, truth and law, I will join it."

Always for Ferré, God is holy love; the faith that shines through these pages is suffused with and illumined by it. Only from such a secure position could anyone understake the perilous task of holding fast the classical biblical viewpoint while at the same time hurling against lackadaisical "normative" Christianity such a reproach as this:

> "Religion in the history of mankind has most often been a product of human fear, and religious practices have usually been a mixture of good and bad.
>
> "Thanks to this mixture, church people can unashamedly defend segregation as an expression of God's will, justify war as divine service, defend ruthless competition in business as part of the natural order, and reflect hostile and uncharitable attitudes generally; they can bless personal and social evil in the name of religion."

As in *Christ and the Christian*, Ferré is here crucially concerned with the power of love shown in Jesus as the Christ. Many people, he finds, readily believe in God but take faith in Christ like "unpleasant medicine," deriving "a kind of selfish joy out of seeing others choking and retching" because they cannot swallow the formula. "The Christian doctrine of Jesus as the Christ," Ferré asserts, "has putrefied withi the consciousness of mankind. . . ." Yet is just here that we must be content wit nothing less than the true incarnation the God who is love, in a wholly huma Jesus. In simple language we get a pictur of Jesus Christ that is as thoroughl theistic as it is humanistic.

As God is love, sin is chiefly its absence "Lack of love carries through a program evil all the way from carelessness t murder." In the social sphere, the sam dynamic is at work: "The pitting of natio as ultimate against nation is presently ou most terrifying sin," and race and cla prejudice are of a piece with it.

Those people who are confident that, b their moral uprightness, they are amon the "saints," will find no comfort in th book. A saint, says Ferré, "seeks out sinner not to judge them but to enlighten an help them, and not too self-consciously, a that." Love is the way; without it, the se is hollow and bitter. "Only love can rightl fill the self, free it from its false desires an give it peace."

Whoever seeks peace, both internationa and within himself, may find this boo helpful. Those who do not share Dr. Ferré outlook beforehand need not worry abou the book's title; even if the terms of th faith are not their own, there is a powe at work here in which all of us can rejoic

—W.R.M

THE WEST IN CRISIS

by James P. Warburg

Doubleday—April, 1959 **$1.50**

"There is no more thought-provoking writer on foreign affairs than James P. Warburg."

Adlai Stevenson

order from:

Peace Literature, Dept. A., AFSC,
20 S. 12th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

or any AFSC office

Socialist Opinion

VOICES OF DISSENT. Grove Press 1958. 38 pp., paperback, $1.95.

Anyone who has concluded that socia ism is dead in America is probably una quainted with *Dissent*, a quarterly founde five years ago by Irving Howe, Lew Coser and a number of others seeking t save the heritage of socialist thought fro the jungle of inter-sectarian bombast an nostalgia. *Voices of Dissent* is a collectio of outstanding and representative article from the magazine's first twenty issues. Th selections range from observations of th contemporary American scene to the mor questions underlying world issues. Contr butors include Erich Fromm, C. Wrigh Mills, Ignazio Silone, William L. Neuman

a score of others, some well-known others worth knowing. Pacifists will particularly interested in L. D. Red-'s account of the Montgomery bus ott, Gunther Anders' "Reflections on H-Bomb" and Nicola Chiaromonte's e Individual and the Mass."

all, 32 writers are represented here, Norman Thomas, who has written the ace. Their voices are not unanimous, is every article of equal weight and e. A few may go roughly against the n, as might be expected in a collection his size, but if you want a thick hand-of stimulating reading on vital matters ociety, this is your book. —W. R. M.

FILMS

The World's Hunger Belt

KE UP OR BLOW UP. Black & white, d, 16 mm., 28 min. World Neighbors, 19th Street NW, Washington 6, D. C.

DR National Council member Frank Laubach has been described as "the d's leading literacy expert." His "each teach one" program has set in motion ntinuing program in the underde-ped countries of Africa and Asia, in h illiterates are being taught to read write by their countrymen who only erday were themselves illiterate. Closely ted to his literacy work is World Neigh-, Inc., a worldwide "people-to-people" ement engaged in developing coopera-self-help programs in these same under-loped countries.

Take Up Or Blow Up is chiefly a pro-ional film for World Neighbors, tell-about WN's overall program and trating some of its major points with es filmed on location in India and the ippines. In it, Dr. Laubach points to dismal poverty that breeds Commu-, and stresses the need for a voluntary native motivated by deep spiritual ern if these "uncommitted" lands are row into the ways of freedom. It is Laubach's conviction that if Americans not wake up to the needs of these im-erished people and help them with hborly love, we shall be faced with ious consequences, since it is in these cal areas of Africa and Asia that the race between Communism and democracy will be won or lost. —W. R. M.

pamphlet reviews

• *1970 Without Arms Control* by NPA Special Project Committee on Security Through Arms Control. 72 pp., $1.25. Order from: National Planning Association, 1606 New Hampshire Ave., N.W., Washington 9, D. C.

If facts alone could decide, this report would go far toward reversing U.S. military policy. The facts are indeed so devastating that, after a grim recital of what existing weapons can do, this cautionary remark is inserted early in the second part of this pamphlet, "Weapons of Tomorrow": "Any discussion of future warfare is bound to take on some of the aspects of scare literature. . . . Many of the things we discuss may seem fantastic, but then many things that have already happened are fantastic."

One such fantasy that could actually occur is revealed on the next page (p. 28): " 'Suitcase delivery' of small atomic weapons is now feasible" and "as the number of countries which possessed bombs increased, it would be more likely that organized criminal or insurrectionary groups could eventually obtain nuclear weapons." Later, two pages are devoted to the possibilities of toxicological warfare—the use of chemical, bacteriological and radiological devices—and there are somber hints of what the editors single out as "abnormal" methods of warfare, such as a mass tranquilizer to "debilitate whole populations and destroy their zeal, efficiency and determination" or the use of "weather control."

The concluding section is curiously out of kilter with the rest of the pamphlet. What it proposes is "arms control" of the kind which has proved inadequate in the past when conventional weapons were involved. It does not grasp the enormous gravity of the situation forecast in earlier pages. Faced with the fact that "the world is fast becoming locked into a situation from which it will become increasingly difficult to extricate itself," the report stops short of any basic reversal of policy and appears to assume that peace may be secured through some sort of scientifically foolproof formal disarmament agreement.

WHY DID GOD CREATE THE RACES?

A concise, probing examination of racial differences and their meaning for Christians. Excellent for use in countering bias in the church.

Reprinted from Presbyterian Outlook. 5¢

FELLOWSHIP PUBLICATIONS FR
Box 271, Nyack, New York

Whatever its shortcomings, *1970 Without Arms Control* may have great value as shock therapy for those of us who are still complacent. But it is also an appalling illustration of man's capacity for adapting his thinking to the prospect of ever greater horror as part of the "normal" conditions of life. If the editors of this pamphlet can remain cool to this horror story of real life, men of power may easily take it in stride.

• *Christian Responsibility on a Changing Planet.* 64 pp., 35¢. Order from: Dept. of Publication & Distribution, National Council of Churches, 120 East 23rd St., New York 10, N. Y.

This is the official report of the Fifth World Order Study Conference that was held in Cleveland last fall, with controversial repercussions that are still being felt in the churches of the United States. "There is much in this booklet useful to FOR people," says FOR Secretary John M. Swomley, who served as a Methodist delegate to the Study Conference. "They should get it and prepare themselves to take part in the nationwide meetings that are coming up." Included are the Conference's Message to the Churches, reports and resolutions on the power struggle and security, overseas areas of rapid social change, human rights questions, and international institutions and peaceful change, and a list of background papers that will be used in the nationwide program of Education and Action for Peace that will be conducted in the churches through June 1960.

• *The Word of God in the Nuclear Age.* 50 pp., 50¢. Order from: Church Peace Mission, 1133 Broadway, Room 1601, New York 10, N. Y.

Indispensable for reading in conjunction with the above (or separately, if need be), this pamphlet embodies four study papers on "The Relation of the Christian Gospel to the Crisis of Nuclear Power." These papers were written in preparation for the recently held CPM Conference at Evanston. A listing of the contents will suffice to indicate the significance of this publication: "Theological and Biblical Basis for Christian Peace Action" by George Miles Gibson; "Christian Dynamic for Social Change" by John M. Swomley Jr.; "The Christian Faith and International Politics" by Stewart Meacham; and "Christian Peace Strategy and Nuclear Weapons" by Hen Will Jr. Pacifists will want to refer to material when they participate in the chur peace education program noted above.

• *This Life We Take.* 22 pp., 15¢. Order f Fellowship Publications, Box 271, N N. Y.

Subtitled "The Case Against Capital Pu ment," this publication of the Friends C mittee on Legislation is a 1959 revised ed of a pamphlet published in 1955. It is of facts. Did you know that in the pas years 3,568 people have been legally execu That in 1801 a thirteen-year-old child hanged for stealing a spoon? That the d penalty was abolished in Austria as earl 1791 and, among our own states, in Mich in 1847? These are only a few bits of info tion that should jar Americans everyw into reconsidering our system of legal geance. *This Life We Take* discusses the w trend toward abolition, tells what the co quences have been where it has occurred adduces expert opinions and sound evid in favor of humane alternatives in dealing crimes that are still widely punished by d This pamphlet can serve as a useful tool in campaigns now going on in many states to capital punishment and promote redem trends in penology.

• *Questions on Disarmament and Your* 16 pp., 10¢. Order from: Friends Comm on National Legislation, 104 C Street Washington 2, D. C.

Some $47 billion in 1958 military appro tions, 2.8 million men in uniform, $150 bi worth of defense Dept. property and 27,35 acres of military installations—what w happen to the U.S. economy if it were converted to peaceful uses? Besides men in armed forces, millions of civilians are gaged in what C. Wright Mills has call "permanent war economy." This provoc little pamphlet sketches out what migh termed a "permanent peace economy," budgetary allocations to education, p health, improved housing, aid to world velopment and other constructive purp Many questions that might be asked are included, but if this pamphlet does not more than to stimulate needed discussio will have served its purpose well. It shoul of interest to anyone who wants peace wit going back to the Great Depression.

• *Books Are Bridges,* edited by Mary E McWhirter. 64 pp., 25c. Order from: Amer Friends Service Committee, 20 South 12th Philadelphia 7, Pa. (c/o EMC)

This tall, lanky (4½" x 11") pamphlet list of approximately 500 books for chil Under a series of headings such as "Frien Our Own Land," "Friends in Other La "Stories and Legends," "Holidays and F vals," "Religions of Mankind" and "S Games and Foods," a variety of books listed, graded by age groups from kinderg

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nior high school, which can widen a
's horizons in understanding the world.
e pages list "Resources for Adults" which
with the children's books.
impressive list of advisors who cooper-
in determining the selections includes
e Huchet Bishop, Leonard S. Kenworthy
many distinguished educators. Each book
scribed in a sentence or two. Example
lergarten): "Hogan, Inez: NAPPY HAS A
FRIEND. Dutton, 1947. $1.50. Here is a
antly told, attractively illustrated story
children (white, Negro and Chinese).
the illustrations indicate racial differ-
." Not only pacifists, but all parents who
not outright mossbacks will find *Books
Bridges* a valuable guidebook—and at a
in price, too.

First Step Toward School Integration by
Holden. 16 pp., 25¢. Order from: Con-
of Racial Equality, 38 Park Row, New
38, N.Y.

quote from Martin Luther King's intro-
on to this pamphlet, it "tells how a
E group helped parents and children
—despite the violence of segregationist
—desegregation was begun in the Nash-
schools in the fall of 1957." Nashville,
Dr. King, was "an important test of non-
nt techniques in the schools. The outcome
sts that the same methods can be used
her southern communities where court-
ed integration is being thwarted by
ism." The pamphlet tells how local
e defeated the efforts of racist agitator
Kasper to block school integration and
udes with a series of basic principles and
ic steps for the guidance of others who
eking to replace the barriers of jim crow
bridges of good will in their own locali-

cial Segregation in the Church by Ben
Rose. 30 pp., 25¢. Order from: *The
yterian Outlook*, 1 North 6th St., Rich-
19, Va.

is pamphlet is important reading for pas-
and laymen, particularly in the South.
en by a Southern Presbyterian minister
is a faculty member at Virginia's Union
logical Seminary and published in the
l of the old Confederacy, it is hardly
ork of "outsiders." In a concise, scholarly
n the author discusses the authority of
nurch and the Bible, the constitution and
s of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.
the history of individual Southern
hes before and after the Civil War. He
udes that "the enforced segregation of
ers in the church is contrary to the
ce and principles of the Bible, the
ards of our church, the actions of our
st church court, and the history of many
ular churches." Ten pages are then de-
to a careful scrutiny of fourteen typical
nents favoring segregation. Here, in sub-
e, the author indicates that no alternative
n to a Christian but to obey God's Word,
"whether we like it or not." The pamphlet concludes with a page of questions for discussion by local church groups and an excellent brief list of materials for further reading.

CIRCLES THAT TAKE IN

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 26)

else the relationship bears within itself the seed of its own destruction. Apart from such orientation all human relationship is a burden and an ultimate disillusionment.

We are told that in Christ there is neither Greek nor Jew, slave nor free, male nor female. Barriers of nationality, religion, class and race, can all be surmounted. Even the barrier of sex, which makes the world suspicious of an intimate friendship between a man and a woman apart from marriage, is in Christ done away. When a man and woman know one another in "the things that are eternal," that is to say, "in Christ," their relationship is guarded from the weaknesses and vagaries of human life, and no violence is done to the sexual union of either one with another partner in marriage, because this relationship is kept in harmony with every other relationship through Christ. Apart from this touchstone, the alchemy of this relationship to Christ which governs all else, men stand in terrible jeopardy of violating constantly one relation by another. Without this protection they may lose their sincerity, and worst of all, they may discover that they no longer know what manner of men they are.

So there lies before us the fascination of this adventure. We are confronted by a number of relationships, some not of our choosing, in our own homes and places of business. Each friendship, each acquaintance affords an opportunity for meeting on a deeper level. The creative chance to draw ever wider circles that will not only take others in but will enlarge one's own interior life to a new dimension is the finest privilege we have. This is the growing edge of our lives, the point at which our awareness might expand, and life itself enlarge. This is mystical unity that can produce the music of a man's life. The ultimate objective is summed up in the prayer of our Lord: "that they all may be one; even as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they all may be one in us."

LETTERS

It is **Fellowship's** policy to print all letters of general interest to its readers, within reasonable limits of space, whether they agree with **Fellowship's** viewpoint or not. You can help to keep this column a free forum by limiting your letters to 200 words.

World Army or World Police?

Dear Editors:

Here are some comments on Sydney Bailey's communication ("What Kind of Force?" in *Potpourri*) in your May 1 issue.

In asking for contributions on the subject of a UN Police Force ("World Police: Can They Guard Peace?", FELLOWSHIP, March 1, 1958), you enclosed a sizable leaflet by the American Association for the United Nations and asked us to write to its proposals. My article's context, like that of the other three, clearly indicates that we were dealing with its suggestions.

This understanding is most relevant to Bailey's dissatisfaction. His summary in his fifth paragraph is not that of the AAUN's scheme, but rather of an official proposal by the UN's Secretary-General at about the same time.

The AAUN talked about an international force able to deal with "threats to the peace" anywhere and everywhere, with the "prevention of aggression," and so on. I still remember a "honey" (and I find that I quoted it in my piece), namely that such a force should have the "right" to go anywhere.

It seemed to me that the entire context of the AAUN plan was the bloody old illusion of an international contingent which would be supposed to keep the peace by making war, if and whenever necessary. The Hammarskjold scheme for a mere patrol and guard of authorized UN projects is something utterly different.

With proper and adequate safeguards, I'd not feel too much objection to UN patrolmen, light-armed if at all, certainly without either the authority or the equipment for making war. At the very least I should have written quite differently about this plan, as I imagine at least two of the other three would have. Milton Mayer might still rule anything of the kind right out.

I could, in other words, go along with most or all of what Bailey says about a genuine "Peace Unit." It seems to me a pity that so much of our discussions, oral and written, are wasted because the two sides are talking about quite different things.

The place where, I suspect, Sydney Bailey and I would find our chief disagreement would be in a condoning of the inadequate. A lot of important things do get done gradually. Others (of which, in my opinion, the securing of an acceptable and dependable peace is a major instance) cannot be reached by "steps." As Lloyd-George said, "You can't get across a ditch in two jumps."

Navy men used to be fond of saying, second-best navy is like a second-best p hand." If one accepts the war system, were right. And I would say "ditto" on piecemeal efforts to tame the tiger of tionalism.

VERNON NASH
Santa Barbara, Califo

The Milk We Drink

Dear Editors:

I am writing in reference to FELLOWS front-page report of April 1, 1959 enti "Fallout Increase Data Coincides with Ge Pessimism." (Also see "The Milk We Dr in *Consumer Reports,* March 1959.)

It seems that "maximum permissible ra tion" decreases while radioactivity is on incerase. This being the case, I would for my family to take steps to avoid ra activity. I would like for my children to l bones containing a minimum of strontium

One solution would be to quit drin milk. This would entail a milk substitut a specially arranged diet.

Couldn't FELLOWSHIP gather and pub various non-milk or reduced milk diets, po ing out possible health dangers, if any?

If a quart of milk per day is desirable, t is it dangerous to drink two quarts of mi day? Likewise, is it better or worse to d only a pint per day, radiation and all th considered?

Perhaps there are medical doctors am the FOR members who would report on subject.

RICHARD S. REYNOLDS
Nashville, Tenn.

Congratulations

Dear Editors:

Having just belatedly read your M issue, I must do what I have quite o thought of doing in recent months and you a brief word of appreciation and comm dation for FELLOWSHIP, which I receive read regularly.

I have no doubts at all about the fu mental truths of pacifism but I have gr terribly weary over the years of the su ficiality and unreality, the confusedness sentimentalism of so much "pacifist" nouncement and propaganda. I get little o feeling of this kind from FELLOWSHIP. I almost invariably inspired by one or articles and generally stimulated and infor by the paper as a whole. It is by far and a the best thing of its kind that I see—a see quite a lot! So, grateful congratulat and more power to your elbow!

GERALD BAILE
Guilford, Eng

ADVERTISEMENTS

THE TRUTH ABOUT ZIONISM as given b observer. Mimeographed edition. For pos and handling Twenty-five cents. David B ingoff, 315 East 209 Street, Bronx 67, N. Y.

THAT MEN MAY LIVE . . . in peace together

FELLOWSHIP is published by the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

The principles of the FOR are embodied in its Statement of Purpose, which constitutes an affirmation of intent rather than a precise creed. In it, members of the FOR are agreed in the following:

- They refuse to participate in any war or to sanction military preparations; they work to abolish war and to foster good will among nations, races, and classes;
- They strive to build a social order which will suffer no individual or group to be exploited for the profit or pleasure of another, and which will assure to all the means for realizing the best possibilities of life;
- They advocate such ways of dealing with offenders against society as shall transform the wrongdoer rather than inflict retributive punishment;
- They endeavor to show reverence for personality—in the home, in the education of children, in association with persons of other classes, nationalities, and races;
- They seek to avoid bitterness and contention, and to maintain the spirit of self-giving love while engaged in the struggle to achieve these purposes.

All persons, regardless of race, sex or religious affiliation, who conscientiously support this affirmation of purpose, are invited to become members of the Fellowship. Membership is not conditional upon contributions of money. However, contributions are invited and are deductible for income tax purposes. For a free copy of the full Statement of Purpose (with membership application), write to Box 271, Nyack, New York.

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For you who value freedom

A primer about

THE POWELL-SCHUMAN CASE

"A serious threat to fundamental liberties."—American Civil Liberties Union of No. California, concurred in by national ACLU.

Three American editors are now prosecuted because of their published belie This action—begun in the heyday of McCarthyism at the insistence of "Chi Lobby" Senators—is in its fourth year, and the end is not in sight. Here are t facts.

- **The defendants:** John W. Powell, Sylvia Powell and Julian Schuman, editors of American-owned "China Monthly Review," published in Shanghai from 1917 to 19
- **The official charges:** First, "sedition"—for what they wrote and published. When t brought a mistrial, "treason" was added..
- **The basis alleged:** That their reports and opinions on the Korean conflict went c trary to official policy.
- **Where they stand today:** The "sedition" indictment, brought in April, 1956, rema unresolved. So does the new "treason" charge. While years go by, the defendants l under the shadow of grave but inconclusive accusations—harassed, financially ruin unable to function in our free society.

Americans who love freedom are justly indignant at the abuse of dissenting writ in all countries. Should not that include our own?

WHAT YOU CAN DO

We believe that this prosecution, handed down from a less sober time, is a burden and embarr ment to our present Government. We believe our responsible Government leaders will recognize damaging effect on our national prestige. We urge you to write your Senators, your Congressman, Attorney General William P. Rogers, encouraging the most constructive course—the withdrawal of Powell-Schuman prosecution.

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